

GEORGE MEANY WRITES A LETTER TO CONGRESS

AFL • CIO

MAY 1958
TWENTY CENTS



American

FEDERATIONIST



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MAY 6 1958

PERIODICAL
READING ROOM



Do you do your part?

DO YOU CARRY OUT your duties as a good trade unionist? To be a good trade unionist one must be a good citizen first—and a good citizen does not neglect his obligations. Now is the time to resolve to do your share to insure that your union will always be the kind of union you want it to be. Take a genuine interest in your organization's affairs. Study its problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend meetings regularly. It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of consistent attendance at local union meetings. It's at the meetings that you get your chance to take part in shaping the policies of your union. Almost all of us want our unions to be effective, clean, thoroughly democratic and deserving of the respect of the community. It's up to us—and no one else—to make sure that our unions always have those qualities. And that means that each one of us has an inescapable duty to turn out for meetings. Your union will be what you want it to be—if you always do your part. So attend your union meetings regularly.

YOUR UNION IS WHAT YOU MAKE IT



American

FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

MAY, 1958

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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A New Day

It is my contention that effective democracy could not have existed as we know it in America if it were not for the advent of unionism and the continued efforts of union men to uphold it. It is a personal duty for every union man to do his share of watering the plant that is unionism and democracy in action.

We have almost come to believe that the sciences of chemistry and physics have a monopoly on new discoveries. But there are many fields of human endeavor, not graced with the title of science, within which some momentous discoveries and achievements have been made. Some of the most important and significant—though least recognized—of new developments are taking place in the ranks of the union movement.

Many of us still allow ourselves to be held back from enjoying all that life has to offer because we cling to useless concepts and baseless fears that we have inherited from a past generation of strife. The time has come for you and me to do our respective parts in attaining new goals and casting off the garments of fear and trembling that we had to wear when to be a unionist was to be in actual danger of physical violence.

Those days of fear are behind us; now we can accomplish those ambitions which every union man considers to be his democratic right. Unions have kept democracy alive in America; now we have a right to a full share of its advantages.

New discoveries in unionism may mean that we have to shed many of our old and outmoded ways of life. The world is driving ahead at missile speed. If we continue to push along at propeller-driven speed, it will be as though we had turned our faces to the rear and marched backward.

The growth and development of democracy in America depends on union brothers demanding more and more of the right answers to economic problems and greater advantages for more people. The welfare of the worker is the business of every union man. We cannot afford to relax our efforts toward his improvement for a day or an hour.

These are the responsibilities of manhood that we have shouldered.

Leonard John Turner.

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The jobless are crowding unemployment compensation offices. Every week many thousands exhaust their benefits.

PRESIDENT MEANY WRITES

A Letter to Congress

TEXT OF LETTER RECEIVED BY EACH MEMBER OF CONGRESS
UPON HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON AFTER EASTER RECESS

AMERICA today stands on the brink of depression.

This stark fact America must face with honesty and determination. America has shown its greatness—in war and peace—only when it has been willing to face the truth and to take whatever action may be necessary. Confidence in America's basic economic strength can only be maintained by the knowledge that corrective steps are being taken.

On March 11, I publicly warned that unless the March unemployment figures showed a seasonal drop of at least 200,000 jobs, we would be in serious trouble. Instead of this drop, however, there has been an actual increase in March unemployment.

Today more than 5,200,000 Americans are jobless. Today more than 31½ million Americans are working far less than a full workweek, adding the economic equivalent of 1.3 million to the unemployment figure.

As a practical matter, then, nearly 91½ per cent of our labor force is jobless.

Close to 45,000 workers are exhausting their unemployment compensation benefits every week.

It is on behalf of these people—these millions of American workers—that I am writing you today. Many of them are members of our unions. All of them are members of that great human family that is America. Their suffering cannot be measured statistically. There are no statistics which can measure the fears of a worker and his family at a time like this.

Unless America acts now to stop this suffering, inevitably additional millions will soon join the ranks of the unemployed. Every important indicator continues to point downward. There isn't a single ray of sunshine on the economic scene.

The Congress of the United States thus faces a grave challenge. The country is looking to you for the swift, meaningful action which the Congress has demonstrated in past crises.

I am aware of the anti-recession measures adopted to date by the Congress and the measures which the Administration is supporting. The economist of the AFL-CIO, after careful and thor-

ough study, have concluded that these measures might pump up to a total of a billion dollars into the economy this year. But at a time when the United States is losing 25 billion dollars a year in national production, this puny economic blood transfusion cannot possibly restore the economy to good health.

Clearly, Congress must take bolder action.

First priority must be given to relieving the plight of the unemployed themselves. This can be done by the adoption of an unemployment compensation bill which will require larger benefits and longer duration. The McCarthy-Kennedy bill deserves your full support. Substantial increases in unemployment compensation payments will not help the recipients but will increase general purchasing power, which will in turn help the entire economy.

In order to relieve the plight of the economy itself, we renew our recommendation for a substantial tax cut which will affect primarily the lower and middle income groups. A 6 to 8 billion dollar tax reduction in both personal income taxes and excise taxes could be decisive in the present situation.

President Meany Blasts 'Right to Work' Lie

THE "high-powered brazen lie" is the major weapon employed by advocates of so-called "right to work" laws, AFL-CIO President George Meany declared last month in an address at the annual Orange Festival in San Bernardino, California. They are using the lie technique, he said, by broadcasting throughout the nation that laws prohibiting the union shop will guarantee to everyone "the right to work."

"The shoddy proposition mislabeled 'the right to work' conveys neither rights nor work," the large audience was told by Mr. Meany. "It will not create one new job. It will not restore one worker now unemployed to a payroll. It will not save the job of a single person who now faces impending layoff."

What a "wreck" law will do, the AFL-CIO president pointed out, is to weaken unions and bring about "lower wages and living standards, lower purchasing power, shrunken markets, depressed communities and

fewer job and profit opportunities."

Referring to the current campaign to enact "right to work" in California via the referendum route, Mr. Meany declared that the standards and practices of Mississippi—a state with a "wreck" law—have no place in California.

He scored "certain ambitious politicians who apparently think that the public has now been conditioned to embrace an anti-labor platform as a substitute for a constructive program and that the wings of a lie afford a suitable vehicle to ride to political preferment."

Mr. Meany told his large audience that labor's awareness of the danger of the lie technique comes from "bitter first-hand experience" in battles over child labor, the conspiracy doctrine, the open shop drives of past years, the "American Plan" and the "labor monopoly bugaboo."

He detailed the economic conditions in "right to work" states, noting the exploitation of labor and the high

The AFL-CIO has called for their anti-recession measures. These include a real public works program, school construction, a much bigger housing program, an increase and extension of the federal minimum wage, improvements in the social security program, and depressed areas legislation.

Clearly, now is the time for America to act before confidence in the bedrock soundness of our economy becomes undermined. To wait further weeks or months will only add to the suffering of millions and the need for more drastic and costly measures later.

Only last week a spokesman for the Soviet Union predicted that America would not be able to get out of its economic difficulties. We can prove these Communist spokesmen wrong.

We can end the economic recession. We can move on to further economic growth. But we must be willing to face the facts. America has shown in the past that free enterprise can meet any challenge, from any source. We believe it can again—if we get on the job at once.

All America is looking to the Congress for action to end this recession.

rate of unemployment, and adding:

"The rest of the citizens of those states that have chosen to follow this treacherous path have also lost a great deal. When they swallowed the lie that strong trade unionism impairs liberty and discourages enterprise and that repressive anti-labor legislation is necessary to the attraction of industry or the promotion of the economic development of a state, they betrayed not only labor but themselves as well."

The AFL-CIO president said the worker does not "begin to realize his full measure of freedom until he joins a union."

"The alternative to trade unionism is not liberty but the tyranny of the company boss," he asserted.

Business itself, Mr. Meany said, is a victim of the "right to work" campaign with businessmen being exploited by "professional hucksters and cynical opportunists who use these campaigns as a surefire means of tapping the corporation till."

THE HOUSING CHALLENGE

By HARRY C. BATES

Chairman, AFL-CIO Housing Committee

AMERICA is paying the price for years of inaction on the housing front. At a time when high-level housing activity should provide a powerful stimulus to economic recovery, housing construction is dragging along at the lowest level in nearly a decade. Repeated failure to adopt housing programs designed to meet the nation's total requirements is now hampering efforts to restore economic prosperity.

We are learning the hard way that building homes takes time. Residential construction cannot be turned on and off like water. Only when homebuilding is permanently geared to high levels of activity can it play the role we expect of it as a key factor in the nation's economy. Only positive, progressive policies and programs can assure that housing will help and not hinder America's prosperity. A policy of drift, a philosophy of housing-as-usual will not do.

It is now five years since organized labor became the first representative group in the United States to recognize that at least 2,000,000 homes should be built each year in order to meet the country's minimum housing requirements.

The estimate we made at that time has since been confirmed by every reputable expert in the housing field who has studied the problem.

Whenever and wherever we could, spokesmen for organized labor, the National Housing Conference and others concerned with assuring all Americans the opportunity to obtain decent homes have urged the development of a national housing program geared to the goal of 2,000,000 homes a year.

In advancing this objective for a national housing policy, we have also stated that the goal of 2,000,000 homes annually could be achieved only by a fundamental redirection of housing policies and programs. The No. 1 requirement is development of programs which would assure a much larger proportion of new homes within the means of the millions of low-

and middle-income families who are now virtually priced out of the housing market.

We have repeatedly stressed the simple fact that no matter how rundown their present dwellings are, people will not buy or rent new homes unless they can afford them. If housing charges and rents are too high for the incomes of ordinary families, those families can't and won't buy or rent new houses. Knowing this, builders won't even attempt to build a sufficient number of houses for them.

This is what has actually happened. With most new houses out of the financial reach of a large proportion of families, homebuilding rates have been held down to about half of the minimum 2,000,000 units a year needed. Last year less than 1,000,000 homes were privately built for the first time since 1947. Because the other million homes needed were not built, about a million families—comprising 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 persons—were deprived of the opportunity to get the homes they needed.

A MILLION needed homes were not built last year because the families who needed those homes could not meet the sky-high charges and rents they would have had to pay under existing market conditions. In fact, financial charges were so high that many families who did purchase new homes could buy them only by stretching their budgets to the point where they had to reduce expenditures on other family necessities.

The simple fact is that a large proportion of potential home buyers are being priced out of the market. *Business Week*, in its March 29 issue, reported that increasing numbers of builders are beginning to realize that "we have priced ourselves out of the big market." This sentiment is typified by this statement, cited by *Business Week*, made by a major mortgage lender:

"Today most potential buyers whose mortgage applications we re-

ject simply cannot meet the monthly payments."

Because housing construction has lagged so far behind housing needs, virtually no progress is being made toward reducing the amount of bad housing. According to a government survey, more than 13,000,000 families in December, 1956, were still forced to live in substandard houses. In fact, there had been virtually no change in the number of substandard houses since 1950.

The present Administration has completely failed to understand the nature of the critical housing problem the nation faces. This failure stems from a fundamental defect in its philosophy and its program.

Top housing spokesmen for the Administration have made it clear again and again that they look upon housing as simply a private business which is supposed to produce profits for builders and financiers but is unrelated to the needs of the public. Their attitude seems to be that if the largely unregulated efforts of private builders, bankers and real estate operators meet the housing requirements of the American people, that is all to the good.

The Administration is willing to help them—but not home buyers—with various types of financial assistance. But if private efforts do not produce the homes America needs, this seems to be of virtually no concern to the Administration.

From time to time individual members of Congress have sought to fill the void of leadership in the housing field left by the Administration. Unfortunately, their efforts have been largely unavailing.

In the face of indifference at best and more often hostile opposition by Administration spokesmen, only a few Senators and Representatives have been willing to support all new programs designed to meet America's total housing needs. Instead of meeting the housing problem squarely with effective, lasting solutions, Congress has, in the main, merely tinkered

with existing inadequate programs.

We are in a serious recession. More than 5,000,000 workers have been deprived of their livelihood and among them are hundreds of thousands in the building and construction trades. Incidentally, while the general economy began its downward slide last summer, housing activity has been declining ever since 1954.

If we had the right kind of program that would permit low- and middle-income families to obtain homes within their means, housing could have been a key factor in helping to restore the nation to economic health. Stepped-up housing might have been a potent remedy for the economic illness which now plagues the country because housing, more than any other industry, contributes to the generation of production and employment in other key industries.

When houses are built, it means jobs not just for bricklayers, electricians, carpenters and other types of building tradesmen, but also for workers in the steel, lumber, building materials, furniture, electrical appliance and many other industries.

A SUBSTANTIAL expansion in housing construction in the very early months of this recession might have provided the shot in the arm to the entire economy which could have helped to turn the tide from retreat to advance in overall economic activity.

Unfortunately, aside from a few virtually meaningless gestures to remove red tape in existing programs, the Administration has ignored the possibilities housing offers as a powerful anti-recession weapon.

In fact, the President's budget and economic message in January—long after the seriousness of the economic decline had become perfectly clear—proposed cutbacks rather than expansion of housing and urban redevelopment programs.

Spurred by calls for action by labor and other pro-housing forces, the initiative for stimulating housing to help fight the recession came in Congress with the passage in record time of the Emergency Housing Act of 1958, introduced by Senator Sparkman. This measure passed the Senate without a single "nay" and was approved by the House by an overwhelming voice vote. On April 1 the President signed the bill—very reluctantly.

The Emergency Housing Act has only the limited objective of helping to overcome the persistent lag in home construction and thereby to stimulate recovery. It will not—and its sponsors did not intend it to—meet the continuing, long-term housing deficit confronting the nation.

Setting up no new programs, the Emergency Housing Act simply authorized an additional \$1.85 billion for existing housing programs. Moreover, its main provisions are permissive, not mandatory. The new law does not require the President or the Housing Administrator to take needed action. It simply tells them what they may do if they are so inclined.

The negative attitude of the Administration was never clearer than in the statement the President issued when he signed the bill. Criticizing provisions to authorize \$1 billion in secondary financing by the Federal National Mortgage Association for moderate-priced housing, the President said:

"The legislation ignores the responsibility and ability of private enterprise to function without imposing a direct burden on the federal purse.

"It has been the fixed policy of this Administration, and should be the consistent purpose of the federal government, to seek in every way to encourage private capital and private investors to finance in competitive markets the myriad activities in our economy, including housing construction. This legislation contains provisions that are wholly inconsistent with that policy and with the philosophy of the free enterprise system that has made this nation strong."

The trouble with this statement is that "private capital and private investors" have not been financing an adequate amount of housing construction for millions of families who urgently need decent homes. As *Business Week* reports, even builders and bankers are beginning to wake up to this fact.

This country will not begin to get the houses we desperately need until the federal government adopts effective, positive policies. We should rely on private enterprise to the maximum extent possible, but if private enterprise cannot or will not do the total housing job, it is the responsibility of the federal government to step in and assure that every family does have an

opportunity to obtain a decent home.

The Emergency Housing Act may help to stimulate some additional housing construction this year, but there is little chance that private homebuilding in 1958 will exceed by much last year's dismal level of less than 1,000,000 units. The new law will bring little, if any, relief to the more than 13,000,000 families forced to live in substandard dwellings. Their needs can be met only by a comprehensive, forward-looking program geared to the nation's total long-term housing requirements.

It will take broad, imaginative action now to arrest the nearly catastrophic deterioration of living conditions American families face in the years ahead. Our population has been expanding at a terrific rate. It is now more than 173,000,000—an increase of about 23,000,000 since 1950. It is estimated that by 1975 our population will reach 229,000,000—a further increase of about 56,000,000 over the present level and a total increase of 79,000,000, or more than 50 per cent, since 1950.

The explosive rate of our population growth, the rapid decay of the downtown areas of our cities, the planless mushrooming of suburbs in all sections of the country, the plight of Negro and other minority families crowded into slum ghettos, the need for additional houses and community facilities resulting from continual migration of industries and of families—all of these dictate the need for fundamental rethinking of housing and urban redevelopment policies and programs.

WHAT are some of the ingredients of the comprehensive housing and urban redevelopment program America needs?

First, Congress must authorize resumption of a large-scale, low-rent, public housing program to provide decent homes for low-income families.

To be sure, improvements can be made in the way in which the public housing program is carried out.

For example, consideration should be given to encouraging development of small projects in order to facilitate the fitting of public housing into neighborhoods. Also, to improve living conditions in public housing, social and community services should be provided. Income limits should be raised to realistic levels so that public

housing will be available to a cross-section of low-income families.

With these and other improvements, public housing will provide better homes for low-income families and achieve more acceptance and support in the community at large.

It is imperative that we face up to the unmet housing needs of millions of moderate-income families. Private builders and the present Administration have largely ignored housing needs of workers and other middle-income families whose incomes range between \$3000 and \$6000 a year. Good homes must be made available to middle-income families at the lowest possible financial charges that do not involve actual subsidy.

This objective can be realized by development of a program of low-interest, long-term loans for the construction of cooperative, non-profit rental and sales housing for moderate-income families.

The programs of slum clearance and urban redevelopment, enthusiastically

launched in hundreds of communities across the nation, should be expanded and speeded up. What has been done so far to tear down slums and modernize the obsolescent sections of some of our cities represents real progress, but it is very far from enough.

The urban land areas under actual redevelopment are probably less than one per cent of the total blighted area in U.S. cities. Substandard dwellings to be removed by redevelopment projects are slightly over one per cent of all substandard, non-farm units in 1950.

To expand urban redevelopment efforts, Congress should authorize a \$5 billion, ten-year program for slum clearance and urban redevelopment. Since many cities are in serious financial straits, it may well be necessary for the federal government to increase its present share of the cost of urban redevelopment.

In addition, the federal government should give positive encourage-

ment for cooperative metropolitan planning to facilitate balanced growth of metropolitan areas. Planning on a metropolitan basis is necessary to assure that outmoded, artificial boundaries do not block replanning and rebuilding of the interior of our metropolitan areas or proper development of outlying suburbs.

These are the main features of the comprehensive housing and urban redevelopment program America needs. This would not be an expensive program. Actually, the cost of such a program would average only about \$1 billion annually during the next ten to fifteen years.

These costs, constituting only about one and a quarter per cent of total federal expenditures, can be compared with \$3.6 billion required annually for federal expenditures for the new highway program.

Thus, the cost of this program is extremely small. It is negligible when weighed against the long-term benefits to the families of America.

Strengthening Union Democracy

By JACK BARBASH

*Professor of Labor Education,
University of Wisconsin*

I AM inclined to place my greatest reliance for the preservation and strengthening of the democratic processes of the labor movement on the labor movement itself. The origins and growth of the labor movement are inextricably tied up with the democratic idea. The idea of democracy has ever been the source of strength and sustenance of the labor movement.

The practical problems of union survival and particularly good times have blurred the commitment to these democratic values. Yet I feel safe in saying that unless these democratic and humane values are reasserted as fundamental operating principles, the labor movement in the United States, as we have known it, will deteriorate.

Indeed, the democratic process is of the essence of union functioning because if the union is not an instrument of interest representation it is nothing. The union's ability to represent its constituents has been and is its chief stock in trade in a way

that is not true of any other private association. A failure of the union to function democratically is therefore a failure in its central function.

I am certain that the strategic element in democratic unionism must be this "will to democracy" on the part of the leadership. It is the leadership of the labor movement at all levels of union government, from steward and business agent to the national president, that must act positively and creatively to give vitality to democracy in the union within the framework of union goals.

TO ACHIEVE this, the union leadership must first act out of conviction that democracy is worthwhile even if it is occasionally inconvenient. And, secondly, union leadership must communicate to the membership an awareness and sensitivity to the responsibilities and the occasional inconveniences involved in the exercise of democratic rights.

Nothing so attenuates the leader's

will to democracy as indifference on the part of the members.

I feel moderately optimistic that we are now witnessing a reassertion of democratic principles. The crisis that the labor movement is confronting with respect to corruption also has redeeming features. It is now possible for friends of and participants in the labor movement to discuss these issues openly and candidly without being made to feel that somehow the solidarity of the labor movement is thereby being put in peril.

I do not share the cynical doctrine of the "iron law of oligarchy" school that dooms the labor movement irrevocably to authoritarian government.

There are strong signs that, either out of self-interest or ideological commitment to the principles of the American labor movement or both, the leadership will take firm and positive steps to strengthen democracy in the labor movement.

As indeed it is now doing.

When a Worker Loses His Job

Unemployed unionists and their families are getting help with their problems in a period of crisis from local Community Services Committees of the AFL-CIO

By LEO PERLIS, Director, AFL-CIO Community Service Activities

ECONOMISTS use different terms to describe unemployment. Some refer to it as a "rolling readjustment." Others consider it a "recession." Still others call it a "depression."

But while the economists may differ in their descriptions, they do have one thing in common—their statistics on which they base their conclusions. To the economist, statistics are important. They are the only way they can properly chart the course of the economic situation in America.

But to the man without a job and to the family without a financial future, unemployment is not a statistic—it is a personal, oftentimes frightening crisis. This is equally true whether one man or more than five million are unemployed.

And at such a time it is extremely important that the unemployed union member knows that his union understands his situation, is concerned about him and is willing to exhaust every possible channel of action to meet his basic personal and family needs.

This is only natural. The AFL-CIO believes it has a responsibility to its members—on the job and off; in time of employment and in time of unemployment. This is a matter of such basic principle that AFL-CIO Community Service Activities exists as a year-round function of the trade union movement.

Underscoring this basic principle was a resolution adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its mid-winter session. Here is how the Council spelled out the policy statement on services to the unemployed:

"While the AFL-CIO moves on the economic, legislative and political fronts to prevent unemployment, it is equally important for us to help

meet the immediate needs of the unemployed.

"We recognize that the trade union has a responsibility to the unemployed non-dues-paying member as to the employed dues-paying member.

"To discharge this responsibility, the local Community Services Committee must develop, in cooperation with public and voluntary agencies, a comprehensive program of effective service so that no unemployed member or his family will go without food, clothing, shelter and medical care."

As I have indicated, unemployment is a personal tragedy. Few problems can worry and discourage a person as much as a period of unemployment. Loss of work can bring into the home all sorts of strains.

FROM the moment of his layoff notice, the unemployed member is faced with a variety of problems.

The first problem, of course, is how and when to apply for unemployment compensation and how to protect his full rights under the law. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been lost in unemployment compensation claims due to delay in filing and ignorance of regulations.

Then there's the problem of whether unemployment compensation will provide even a minimum subsistence standard for his family, and whether the family is entitled to supplementary public assistance or other additional aid.

He may need help in staving off eviction, in working out an effective, though reduced, family budget, in meeting special child welfare problems.

The need for medical and dental care, hospital services, and how to meet payments on his car, his appliances, his furniture will be particu-

larly pressing. So, too, will the problems of human relationships, which are severely aggravated by unemployment.

Later, if unemployment compensation payments reach their end—as is happening to some 40,000 workers a week during the present crisis—the unemployed union member will need to know how to apply for help from the Public Welfare Department and other agencies responsible for direct relief.

He will need reassurance, at such a point in this growing personal crisis, that he is entitled to such community services as a matter of right when he is in need—that it is not charity. In many such cases it may be necessary for the union to negotiate on his behalf with such agencies to make certain that he gets fair and adequate treatment and service.

These are but representative problems confronting the average trade union family the day the money stops. They vary in severity. They are often accompanied by other personal problems. But they are an important part of the personal crisis which community service representatives see every day, as they work in helping solve the mounting problems rising out of the current recession.

HOW can these problems best be met through the community services program of the trade union movement? A lot depends, of course, on local situations, but generally the following ten-point program provides a basic course of action in the area of service to the unemployed:

1. Every effort should be made to contact the unemployed member—by letter, by postcard, by handbill or by notice in the local union paper—informing him of the community services program and the mechanics set

up by the local union or central labor body for putting the program into effect.

2. Plans should be made to have a union counselor on duty at the local union headquarters or central labor body hall. The unemployed worker should be notified of the specific hours when the counselor is available to discuss his problems.

If no union counseling program exists, the Community Services Committee should undertake a counseling training program at once, placing special emphasis on unemployment compensation and public assistance. Program material outlining the counseling program in detail, plus a variety of related materials, can be obtained from the National AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, 9 East Fortieth Street, New York 16, N. Y.

3. Unemployment compensation claims must be protected and payments expedited, for these provide the main source of income in time of layoff. This means seeing that each member understands the law and its requirements, place and time of filing an application, and the like. In some instances, the Community Services Committee may be instrumental in having the unemployment bureau assign staff to the union hall to speed up the processing of claims.

4. Those people working on the community services program of aiding the unemployed should be thoroughly familiar with all of the details of supplemental benefits available under collective bargaining agreements, so that the unemployed member is made aware of the proper procedure for obtaining such benefits.

5. In cases where compensation is exhausted, checks are delayed, the claim is disallowed or the amount is too small to cover basic needs of the unemployed member, alternate sources of help must be found. This means the local CSC must help obtain material assistance in terms of food, shelter, clothing and medical care.

The primary source of assistance is the public, tax-supported agencies such as the city or county welfare office. The CSC must study local requirements, establish contact with the agency on behalf of the union member and institute a proper referral system and follow-up procedure to insure proper treatment and prompt attention.

6. Since unemployment is usually temporary, every effort should be made to have welfare officials relax usual eligibility requirements that frequently involve a lien against the applicant's house or require him to reduce his insurance coverage—in short, which force him into a state of virtual pauperism before he is eligible for help.

7. It will be important for CSC members to know what arrangements local union officers have made in terms of the unemployed member's hospitalization coverage. This information, in turn, should be passed on to the membership. Every effort should be made to help the unemployed union member keep up his hospitalization insurance. It is a paradox that, just at the time when he needs insurance coverage more than ever before, the average unemployed worker can't afford to pay for it.

8. A program for distribution of surplus foods can help meet some pressing needs. In cooperation with public officials, union leadership can work with the United States Department of Agriculture to institute such a program. Complete details on the subject of surplus foods distribution are contained in a special manual which is obtainable without cost from AFL-CIO Community Service Activities' national office in New York.

9. Very often, public assistance cannot provide an adequate bulwark against personal economic disaster, particularly in cases where residence requirements or other restrictions prevent people from qualifying for aid. In situations such as these, voluntary agencies—many of them supported through Community Chest and United Fund campaigns—can provide secondary assistance. The names of these agencies may vary, but most large communities maintain a network of voluntary services.

While it is generally accepted that basic needs—food, shelter, clothing and medical care—are the responsibility of tax-supported agencies, the voluntary agencies, to the best of their financial ability, should render temporary or emergency assistance to

those who do not qualify for public welfare.

10. The CSC should call a meeting of the social agencies through the Community Welfare Council to determine exactly what help is available, and the best method of union-agency cooperation in interviewing and referring unemployed members. Such a meeting could explore the possibility that the private agencies might want to volunteer the services of staff members to interview and investigate cases for the Public Welfare Department. Such "lend-lease"

of staff would enable public agencies to accept a larger case-load without having applicants wait for an interview.

All of these varied programs for assistance—unemployment compensation, public assistance and other welfare services—may be fine. But they are no substitute for jobs. The goal of those who are un-

employed is always work—not relief.

In this direction, CSC members, working through appropriate union and community channels, can help to promote both job finding and public works programs.

The latter can be of immediate assistance in ending the economic crisis which currently is deepening across the face of America.

The AFL-CIO should, of course, be represented in such local planning, for it is the voice of 13,500,000 men and women who are deeply concerned about what is happening to them and to their fellow citizens.

With the trade union movement represented in planning for public works programs, a sincere voice will be raised for the development of adequate hospitals and clinics, schools, libraries, recreation facilities, roads and other socially useful projects—thus providing not only the dignity of employment but also the improvement of local facilities that affect the health and welfare of the community.

In this time of crisis—indeed, at any time when unemployment exists—the trade union movement, through the medium of AFL-CIO community services, will always be the first to extend the helping hand of brotherhood.



We Can Do the Job

By ALEXANDER BARKAN

Deputy Director,
Committee on Political Education

AS WE approach the eve of another biennial election we might as well face up to the fact that we will have to answer the biennial question, "Does the American labor movement have any influence in politics?"

The quick answer, for those who would like to read and run, is yes. And I think I can prove it.

Between now and Election Day—and for weeks and months after Election Day—the question will be posed in many forms and in many places.

If the form sheet has any validity, there will be at least six columns by Raymond Moley saying that labor cannot "deliver" the vote but issuing a call to arms against labor in politics.

Six or seven (the form sheet is a little hazy on this) Senators will insert articles in the *Congressional Record* denying labor can be effective in politics.

Representative Ralph Gwinn of New York will again claim COPE is spending over half a million dollars in his district to defeat him.

Westbrook Pegler will rewrite his piece on labor in politics for the twenty-fifth time; Fulton Lewis will continue his breathless revelations; a television panel show will badger a guest—just to get the story, of course.

And with all of this knowledge pounded into them, somewhere between fifty and sixty million people will vote on Election Day for and against candidates recommended by the labor movement. Some will win and some will lose, and the debate will taper off until this time in 1960.

It's all good clean fun and a valuable part of the political process. The fact that it sheds very little light on the subject is beside the point. What is important is that it is a legitimate subject for debate in the great marketplace of ideas that constitutes our democratic system.



ALEXANDER BARKAN

In approaching the subject dispassionately it is lucky that the American electorate is probably the most thoroughly surveyed and polled electorate in the world. Particularly in recent years, thoughtful public opinion scientists—found mostly in universities as opposed to those of a different breed found mostly on New York's Madison Avenue—have devoted a good deal of time and attention to what makes the American voter tick.

The best work, perhaps, has been done by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. It has also done the most work.

In February, 1957, the SRC published a study showing the composition of the American electorate in the 1956 election. It estimated that 15 per cent of the population was strongly Republican, 14 per cent weakly Republican, 23 per cent independent, 23 per cent weakly Democratic, 21 per cent strongly Democratic and 4 per cent non-political.

Lumping those without strong views together, it comes out 15 per cent Republican, 21 per cent Democratic, 60 per cent without fixed views and 4 per cent with no views at all.

In the 1956 election President Eisenhower got a substantial majority of the 60 per cent who occupy the middle ground between strongly Republican and strongly Democratic.

Against that background it is useful to look at the way people classified as "workers" voted. Union members voted 52 per cent for the Democratic candidate for President who was recommended by the AFL-CIO General Board and 48 per cent for the Republican candidate. The contrast with the voting behavior of the general public, of which union members are a part, is marked. The contrast with the voting behavior of non-union "workers" is even greater.

While 52 per cent of the union "workers" voted for the candidate recommended by the AFL-CIO, only 35 per cent of the non-union "workers" voted for the same candidate. Sixty-five per cent of the non-union "workers" voted for the opposing candidate, while 48 per cent of the union "workers" voted for the same candidate.

IT SEEMS to me that the difference between the 52 per cent and the 35 per cent is the area of labor's influence. The only distinction between the two groups, according to the Survey Research Center material, was that one was composed of union members, the other was not. They were equally distributed, presumably, over the same areas of the country, came from the same racial and religious backgrounds and were in the same general social and economic brackets.

I leave it to the statisticians to figure out to the decimal point how

much of the difference is attributable to our efforts. I would only stress that these figures relate to the way people voted in the 1956 Presidential election. They have no bearing on party membership.

This February, 1957, study was followed up in September, 1957, with another study by Philip Converse, also of the University of Michigan Survey Research Center. He sought to isolate the voting behavior of union members, as one group, for a further look.

His conclusion was that "workers who have a strong, personal feeling of belonging to a union and who understand clearly where their union stands politically are the ones most likely to cast a 'labor vote' in national Presidential elections."

Converse added: "The longer a person has been a union member, the more likely he is to identify with the union and to behave politically as the union would desire. Further checks show this relationship is not the result of an older 'depression generation' of members who joined under

rather unusual circumstances. New union members in their fifties and sixties have about the same low identification with unions as do new members in their twenties—and the reverse holds true for long-term union members, regardless of their age."

More detailed study confirmed the findings. In those unions which expressed a clear political preference in their publications, whose leaders took strong stands and gave direction to their members, the vote for backed candidates was higher than in unions in which this was not the case.

Put in a simpler way, workers most familiar with their unions understand best the necessity for political education and agree most with the political recommendations of their organizations.

A January, 1958, study by two members of the Institute of Management and Labor Relations at Rutgers University of two local unions in New Jersey came up with the same conclusions.

There are many things not touched upon by either of the studies. Ob-

viously it is vital that recommendations, to have weight with the membership, must be arrived at on a sound basis of logic and arrived at through a democratic process. Recommendations based on the predilections of a small group carry no weight nor do they deserve to.

Obviously, also, mere recommendation is not sufficient. The reasons must be spelled out and they must be sound reasons. It is the responsibility of the leadership to see to it that members are made aware of the union's position and that they have the facts.

These studies, of course, do not fit the pattern cut by the foes of the labor movement whose minds are filled with "labor bosses" pushing buttons which marshal millions of nameless slaves to the polls. But, somehow, serious studies never do fit the images these people have or seek to conjure.

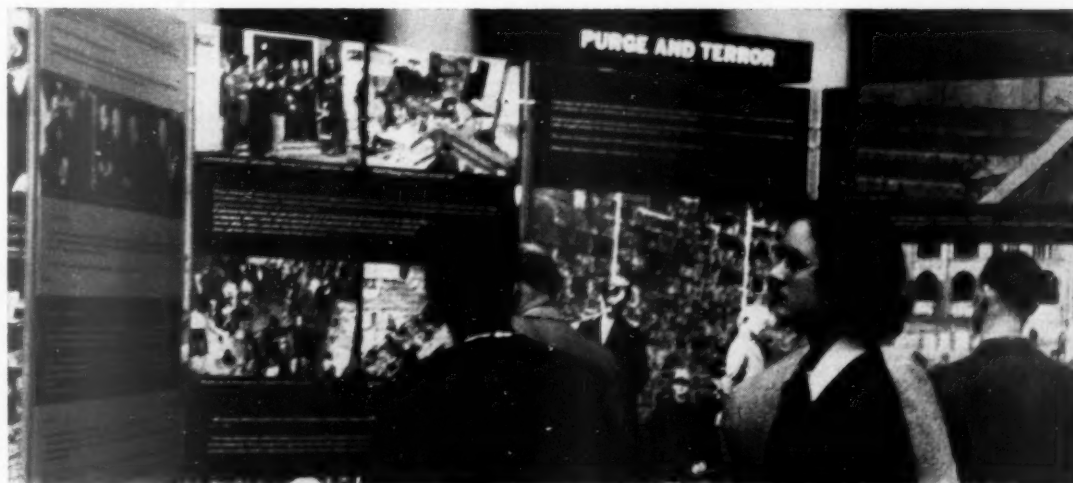
That, however, is their problem. Ours is to do the job we can do with all the vigor and energy at our command. There is nothing so convincing in a debate as demonstration.

Thousands See Soviet Empire Exhibit

A pictorial record of four decades of Communist terrorism, brutality and imperialism has been viewed by many thousands in Washington's Union Station. Co-sponsors of the exhibit were the AFL-CIO and the Assembly of Captive European Nations. The display included photographs—most of them smuggled out by refugees—showing what the rulers of the Soviet Union did to

Central and Eastern European workers who dared to seek freedom. A portion of the exhibit is seen in the photo below.

AFL-CIO President George Meany (photo at right), in an address at the opening ceremonies, pointed out that "the very first victims of communism" were the Russian people. He called the exhibit "a warning to all free people."



Automation's **IMPACT** Has Us Worried

By JAMES A. SUFFRIDGE
President, Retail Clerks International Association

TOO often the vision of automation is one relating only to the manufacturing end of our economic order. Few people seem to realize that the extension of the new technological revolution into retailing and distribution has already been widespread and that its consequences promise to create a situation with which we must be gravely concerned.

We are faced with the possibility of a practical, fully automatic food store using a combination of electronic equipment and conveyor belts and virtually doing away with human labor.

In one such proposed store the customer is to be provided with a large metal key which he then inserts into a special slot in a display case. Food items, behind glass, will be designated by letters and numbers. And as the customer makes his choice, the amount of each item will be recorded electronically and then totaled in a completely automatic way.

The customer would present his key to the check-out clerk. The purchase would be automatically brought forward on a conveyor belt already packed into a carton. It is said that sixty items from a total selection of 154 items could be assembled in about thirty seconds.

Should a customer forget some item, he would be able to purchase it without returning to the shelves by telling the clerk, who would then push a button to bring the desired item forward to the check-out counter.

A system of this kind was displayed in 1956 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. This was one developed by the store engineering department of the Independent Grocers

Alliance and shown at its annual convention that year.

Another system which the engineers have not yet developed into a working model would utilize a series of shopping cards. With different colored cards for the various departments, meats, produce and canned items, the customer would simply mark off the items desired on the cards. The cards would then be placed in an electronic device, and within seconds the items desired would be delivered automatically to the check-out counter.

THE Independent Grocers Alliance has said that the use of automated stores would reduce shopping time up to 85 per cent and, of course, would result in drastic cuts in personnel. And there is the heart of the matter. In our estimation, the immediate prospect we face is the destruction of jobs without necessarily providing others in their place.

This is our basic problem with the extension of automated processes to retailing. We have all been fascinated by the gadgetry, by the technological aspects of automation. Not enough emphasis has been placed on automation's social and economic effects.

The mechanization of industry has a very long history, of course. In one way or another, man has always sought to make the handling of materials simpler as well as more automatic.

Most authorities say that an automated plant must include control through instrumentation—a kind of sensing apparatus through electronic devices incorporating feed-back prin-

ciples and a mechanical or electronic handling of materials. But I wonder whether we ought to narrow the problem down quite this much. Ought we to come to the conclusion that a particular process is not automation unless it is entirely automatic?

It seems to me that most of the developments tending in the direction of automatic processes have but one ultimate aim. That aim is to reduce the human component in the handling and processing of materials.

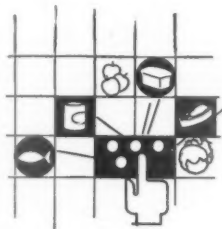
Most authorities will agree that the possibilities for automated developments exist in every field of endeavor—particularly where human activities are subject to some degree of repetition. The greatest possibilities for further mechanization—especially in retailing—lie in the area of the handling of materials.

Toward the end of the Nineteenth Century conveyors and similar equipment were introduced into gas works and pneumatic grain conveyors were put to use for the transfer of grain from ship to shore.

Today all sorts of flexible, automatic loading devices and materials-handling equipment are appearing on the market. In the retail and distributive trades, the outstanding feature is prepacking both in and out of the store and a tendency in the direction of a more automatic handling of the materials in the warehouse as

well as in the retail selling area itself.

A brief description of self-service meat operations in a large food chain will illustrate what is taking place. A beef loin enters the meat cutting section on a conveyor. The operator of a power saw cuts the loin into



steaks in a variety of thicknesses. Then he passes the cuts to the operator of the trimming table, who removes excess bone and fat from each cut.

This operator places the cuts on aluminum pans with the less desirable side down (if a difference is noted), and each layer of the product is papered to absorb excess juices and retain the bloom of the meat. The filled trays are then placed on a gravity conveyor on which they travel to the wrapping area.

In all likelihood the wrapping area would have, as its center, one of the new automatic wrapping machines, which are adjustable to the size of the product and effectively pre-wrap and bottom-seal up to eighteen packages per minute with one operator.

The wrapped product then goes, by gravity conveyor, to the weighing station where the package is weighed, priced and labeled, using a semi-automatic scale and a labeling machine. From this point the package is conveyed via belt to the display area or to the holding cooler for use when needed.

Not very long ago all these operations were performed by highly skilled men on the floor, in front of the customer. These skills are virtually being lost and the jobs reduced or even abolished.

A MAJOR area for automatic devices is in inventory control. An old system, used in many department stores today, requires a clerk to tear off half of an article tag, as each sale is made, and put it in a box. These half tags are collected from the departments and sorted the next day into various classifications according to manufacturer, price or other categories. This system is usually not accompanied by any attempt to maintain a daily figure of floor stock. Generally this has to be obtained by hand inventory count directly on the floor.

A new automatic system uses electronic devices. The article tags, usually in the form of an electronic computer device card, have the required information punched on them as well as printed. These cards are sent from the selling department to the central processing department, where the information is transferred to magnetic tape and sorted in an electronic sorter.

Then the information is passed on to the computer, where it is processed in one operation to give information on types of sales merchandise remaining in stock, sales by customers and the like. The system can function at night, so that each buyer can receive a report on the previous day's business as soon as he arrives at work in the morning.

In a great mail order house which sells 8,000 items, daily orders range from 2,000 to 15,000 at peak periods. A machine such as the one just described runs off a complete report each night on all the items in the catalog so that the management can see quickly which items require re-ordering.

All the orders are recorded on a constantly revolving magnetic drum. What happens is that the operator taps out the catalog number and quantity upon receipt of an order. The machine then "searches" the drum surface for the number, reads off the stock total and daily sales total, transmits the figures to another unit which carries out the calculations and then puts the new totals on the drum.

These operations are all carried out in two-fifths of a second. The machine works with ten operators. Preparing the information by hand would have required about 150 clerks. Thus, we have achieved high speed and accuracy through machine methods at the cost of 140 jobs.

Automatic procedure in retailing is illustrated by an installation at a supermarket near the nation's capital. This is an automatic bagging machine.

When the customer approaches the check-out clerk and places the merchandise on a conveyor belt, the clerk adjusts the machine for the size of the order. As the order is checked on the register, the merchandise is put into a loading bin, with light and fragile items on the top.

When the loading bin is filled, the cashier presses a button and the bin pushes the merchandise into an opened bag, which is then lifted to a receiving platform, while the bin reopens to accept a new load of merchandise.

Should it become necessary to resack a heavy grocery order, either at the customer's request or because of injury to the bag, the automatic bagger can do this in less than ten sec-



JAMES A. SUFFRIDGE

onds. With a machine of this kind, not only are fewer check-out counters needed but no baggers are necessary.

Emphasis in retail stores is on speed. At a National Association of Food Chains meeting in Washington a short time ago, fixture manufacturers displayed a variety of equipment which hummed with motorized check-outs, packaging machines, computers and in-store prepackaging.

Everything emphasized speed and productivity. There were pushbutton controls, conveyor belts, ball-bearing devices, glassed enclosures—all designed to reduce the amount of time a customer stays in a store without cutting down on what she spends in an average visit.

THE possibilities of adapting electronic devices to retailing are immense. They can be adapted easily to inventory control. In the Washington division of Safeway Stores, profit and loss statements are obtained every four weeks, within days after the close of the period, through the use of two baby electronic computers.

Because of the new machines, this division of Safeway was able to reduce its inventory by a substantial amount without any loss of service. The data needed to make buying decisions are obtained within a few hours.

It is not far-fetched to say that the technological revolution is moving in the direction of developing devices that will scan inventory on the shelves of a food supermarket and report back to reserve stock areas.

What this will do to the labor force in the (Continued on Page 28)

AID AND TRADE... IN TROUBLE

By HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER
AFL-CIO Legislative Representative

TWO important battles are now shaping up in Congress. Upon the outcome of these battles may well depend the economic health of the entire free world and the success of our struggle against world communism.

The battles will be over our mutual security program and our reciprocal trade program. Foreign "aid and trade" is the popular phrase for these two vital aspects of America's foreign economic policies.

Our "aid"—or mutual security—program is up for its annual authorization by Congress. The \$3.9 billion requested for next year would provide military, economic and technical assistance to nations all over the world which are not in the Soviet camp.

Our "trade"—or reciprocal agreement—program is up for a proposed five-year renewal by Congress this year. First enacted in 1934, this program gives the President the power to negotiate lower tariffs and hence greater trade with other nations.

So important are these two programs—and so serious is the present threat to their continuation without crippling changes—that Washington was the scene in recent weeks of two most unusual gatherings. On one occasion more than 1,500 leaders of national organizations assembled to show their support for the mutual security program. A similar gathering brought together almost as many people in support of the reciprocal trade program.

What was unusual about these two conferences was that they brought together people from every walk of life and from both political parties. President Eisenhower addressed both conferences. And so did Adlai Stevenson. Former President Truman spoke out forcefully for the mutual security program. And there was the truly remarkable spectacle of having former Secretary of State Acheson and present Secretary of State Dulles speak out from the same

platform in support of the same goals.

The AFL-CIO joined in support of both conferences, and many labor people participated in the important sessions. Business groups and farm groups—although not unanimously in support of these programs—were well represented. Religious, fraternal, peace, veteran and other groups were there.

But, as Adlai Stevenson pointed out, the tragedy is that the conferences were needed in the first place.

"It is a melancholy reflection upon our faltering position in a perilous world," he said. "Instead of planning for the future, we are still fighting battles we thought had been won in the past. * * * I deplore the need to reassure ourselves and a world grown dubious of our leadership that we are indeed leaders, that we are not seeking a way out but a way forward."

The conferences were held. The headlines were encouraging. Some new vigor was instilled in the efforts to retain good "aid and trade" programs. But the battles are far from won.

WE MUST face up to the fact that the American people are not too sold on either of the programs. Many have fallen for the propaganda of the isolationists, the budget-balancers and the high-tariff protectionists.

"Why pour more billions in foreign aid down the rathole?" these propagandists ask—implying that our billions in Marshall Plan aid and Truman Doctrine aid and our other assistance programs have not accomplished their objectives. But the facts prove otherwise.

"Let's stop the giveaway program!" they shout in their appeal to the economy-minded, failing to point out how much more it would cost if America tried to do the impossible, that is, provide for adequate American military defense to take on the Soviet bloc all by ourselves.

"Let's worry about our own industries and workers first," they appeal

in their efforts to establish higher tariff walls, conveniently forgetting the millions of American workers who are dependent on foreign trade for their jobs.

If the American people only knew the real story behind the mutual security and the reciprocal trade programs, they would surely support them. It is to be hoped that the Washington conferences will help get this understanding to the people back home.

ORGANIZED labor has devoted much study to both these programs, and there has never been any wavering in our support of them. There are some groups of workers who believe that the present trade program hits them too severely, but even they do not question the wisdom of the reciprocal trade program generally.

At its meeting early this year, the AFL-CIO Executive Council adopted a resolution on foreign economic policy which clearly sets out the underlying philosophy behind our support of both aid and trade. It states, in part:

"The economic policy of the United States in the international arena must be attuned to the welfare and security of our own nation and the economic requirements and aspirations of the peoples of the free world. Our leadership of the democratic forces of the world and our own national security require that in our economic policies the United States must not turn its back on the rest of the world.

"Americans must realize that we cannot build our own prosperity and security in economic isolation. In our economic no less than in our political decisions, we must recognize the growing interdependence of the people of the free world. Economic cooperation among the nations of the free world is essential to advance the welfare of humanity and to meet successfully the growing challenge of Soviet imperialism.

"The role our nation will play in economic development of the free world will be determined in large measure during the present session of Congress when Congress considers two major issues—extension of the reciprocal trade program and additional authorization for foreign economic aid."

How serious is the Soviet economic threat? Let the Communists themselves answer this question.

Speaking to a Moscow conference in 1952, the late Stalin declared:

"We can win the world peaceably. It will eventually turn upon West Germany and Japan. But the stupid, greedy West will hamper their foreign trade. Then we shall draw them into our orbit through overwhelming trade agreements."

Only last year Stalin's successor, Khrushchev, said even more frankly:

"We declare war upon you—excuse me for using such an expression—in the peaceful field of trade."

And this year a new Soviet-West German trade agreement is announced which provides for doubling trade between the two countries this year, with the Soviet Union shipping greatly increased quantities of oil, coal, cotton and other similar goods to West Germany.

THE nations of the free world wait to see whether Congress will renew our modest reciprocal trade program. But they will not wait much longer. The Communists are shrewd negotiators. And they are making progress in the field of aid as well as trade.

The Communists are fairly recent participants in the field of economic assistance. But they have already reaped a rich harvest of propaganda success as well as closer political ties with a number of countries. Nations which for the first time see the possibility of economic growth will not sit idly by and watch their plans for essential projects wither on the vine. If the United States fails them, these countries will seek assistance wherever they can get it.

Increasingly, uncommitted nations are turning to the Soviet Union, which is apparently willing to provide underdeveloped nations with some help in the hope of drawing them into the Soviet political orbit. The State Department has recently estimated that in a period of less than three years

the Soviet bloc has extended \$1.9 billion in long-term loans or grants to non-Soviet countries. Almost all of this amount is in economic assistance, only about one-fifth in military assistance.

If the Soviets perform on these commitments, the political cost to the free world may be catastrophic.

Let us remember, however, that in this case the Communists are reacting to what the free world did first and is still doing. A report from the United Nations shows that the free world, in the last two-year period alone, has extended about \$5.5 billion in economic and technical aid to less privileged countries. Of this sum, the United States has contributed more than half. France, Britain, Australia, Canada and the Netherlands have been among the other major donors.

The danger is that if we reduce or abandon our program now, the new Soviet help will take on particular significance.

The free world's desire to help less privileged nations is aimed, of course, at reducing the danger of Communist infiltration. But it is based primarily upon positive, humane considerations. We are sensitive to people's needs wherever they may be.

The bounty which nature has bestowed upon us cannot in good conscience be hoarded selfishly. In a world where billions go to sleep hungry every night, how can we fail to make our food surpluses available? Moreover, there is an element of enlightened self-interest involved in the realization that in the final analysis we will continue to prosper as we make the whole world community prosperous.

Our entire foreign aid program—including the bulk of it which is military assistance to our potential allies—costs the taxpayers only one quarter of what they spend each year for liquor and tobacco alone.

Instead of reducing the President's proposals for \$3.9 billion for the entire mutual security program next year, Congress would be well advised to step up the sum substantially in the non-military areas.

A number of studies have clearly demonstrated that the United States should make available at least \$2 billion yearly for economic development purposes—most of it in the form of long-term, low-interest loans.

But Congress has appropriated only \$300 million for this year and has authorized only \$625 million for next year for the important Development Loan Fund.

Compare this total of \$925 million for two years with the half a billion in applications made to the Fund in the first eight months of its existence.

This means that many projects urgently needed to provide the spark for economic growth in the underdeveloped countries simply cannot be undertaken unless we make more funds available or these countries can obtain the funds they need elsewhere.

The sad fact, however, is that this Congress may not even be willing to appropriate the amount now authorized in the basic legislation.

While we urge Congress to make the most liberal appropriations possible for the mutual security program in its present form, we also urge that increased consideration should be given to possibilities for channeling economic aid and technical assistance through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Broad, multilateral assistance will minimize the understandable resistance to a "rich uncle" role on the part of Uncle Sam and will also help spread the burden of economic aid to other countries to the extent of their capabilities.

NO country wishes to depend on "assistance." In the long run, the countries now being aided must be helped to stand on their own two feet. To do so, they must be permitted to *earn* rather than to be given our dollars. In other words, they should be permitted to trade with us.

It is a tragic fact that some European countries which we helped so much to restore to economic health after World War II through the Marshall Plan now find it difficult, because of our trade policies, to trade with us at the levels needed for economic stability.

There is nothing charitable about a liberal trade policy. America gains as much from it as do the nations with which we trade. In the final analysis, it means higher productivity and higher standards of living for *all* peoples.

Through international trade we obtain vitally needed raw materials and some manufactured goods which we can't or don't produce. And we are able (Continued on Page 30)

LABOR LIFTS THE BAR TO OPPORTUNITY

By **BORIS SHISHKIN**

Director, Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO

WHEN the road to opportunity is open for most people but is barred for some, because of these people's color or religion, the characteristic American reaction is to cry "Unfair!"

Discrimination violates the sense of fairness deeply rooted in the American tradition. Americans by nature are not exclusive. They don't like special privilege. Their kids don't go for the teacher's pet. They don't care much for any artificially set up elite. Any caste system is to them detestable. To them a good thing is something from which everybody benefits, everybody gains.

Believing in freedom, Americans detest restraint. They feel that everybody should be able to go places without hindrance. Yet on many roads in America traffic has not been flowing freely for everybody. Some Americans have found themselves barred from the high road to opportunity and shunted off into blind alleys and dead ends only because of the shape of their nose or the color of their skin.

Opportunity to earn a living, which means not only an opportunity to get a suitable job but also an opportunity to get a better job, has not always been equal in industry. Denial of this opportunity to some has been widely regarded as an injustice. And there has been much said to protest this injustice, to inveigh against it and to denounce it.

But to right a wrong takes deeds, not words.

As we look upon the American industrial scene, we see the far-reaching effects of the current economic recession. In factories and shops through the land there have been widespread layoffs. New jobs have been harder to get.



BORIS SHISHKIN

Under these conditions of job scarcity, discrimination becomes keener, tougher. To overcome it, to establish and maintain true equality of opportunity, becomes a more difficult, a more challenging task.

The first responsibility to stamp out discrimination in hire, tenure and conditions of employment falls upon management.

There are many industrial firms that have established a notable record of eliminating discrimination in their own establishments. Companies like International Harvester and North American Aviation, to mention but two examples, have at least tried to make a sustained and determined effort to put into effect and keep alive an even-handed and fair employment policy. Yet nationally management as a whole has failed to do its part in assuring equality of opportunity in employment.

There is not one association of

manufacturers, not one chamber of commerce, not one trade association in our land that has established machinery to promote equal opportunity and maintain fair employment policies among its members.

There are, to be sure, public agencies endeavoring to advance the acceptance of fair employment in industry. But their effectiveness is limited. In the federal government, the President's Committee on Government Contracts administers an executive order of the President which calls for non-discrimination on work performed under federal government contracts. But this program is limited by the fact that it applies only to business and industrial firms doing work on federal government contracts.

The committee itself is merely a coordinating agency. It strives to get the contracting agencies of the government to insist on non-discriminating policy and to secure compliance with it.

On the state level two efforts have been made to apply a fair employment policy under the state laws. But here again the effect is a very limited one. Only thirteen states and Alaska have mandatory fair employment practices acts on their statute books.

Where then is the major source of initiative and leadership in extending non-discrimination to our entire industrial scene?

The record shows that the one voluntary institution which has established comprehensive machinery to combat discrimination is organized labor. The AFL-CIO not only proclaimed non-discrimination as one of its foremost policy objectives; it also set up procedures to put its policy into practice.

The AFL-CIO has in operation a Civil Rights Committee which assists the Executive Council in shaping programs and procedures to deal with problems of discrimination within the ranks of labor itself as well as to eliminate all forms of discrimination in employment.

The merged labor federation has also set up a subcommittee of the Civil Rights Committee known as the Subcommittee on Compliance. This body reviews complaints of discrimination and attempts to resolve them. If necessary, unsolved cases are placed before the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO for appropriate action in accordance with the AFL-CIO policy.

The staff of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, at its headquarters in Washington, is responsible for processing complaints and putting into effect the various phases of the non-discrimination program.

In addition, the AFL-CIO has called upon its affiliates "to set up internal Civil Rights Committees and staff machinery for effective administration of a meaningful civil rights program within their ranks, working in close cooperation with the Civil Rights Committee and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO."

MANY national and international unions have had such machinery of their own in operation for some time. Additional unions are being added to this list. For example, a recent addition is the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union. Pursuant to its 1957 convention action, this union's Executive Board acted last February to establish a Civil Rights Committee responsible for the administration of the union's non-discrimination program.

State and even local bodies of organized labor are likewise setting up non-discrimination machinery of their own in different parts of the country. A recent example is the action of the Kalamazoo Labor Council of Kalamazoo, Michigan, on March 10.

What the central body of this relatively small but important industrial community did was to establish its own permanent standing committee on civil rights, having as its functions:

"1. To suggest programs of action

to the Labor Council which will aid it in carrying out the civil rights programs of the national and state AFL-CIO.

"2. To encourage Labor Council affiliates to establish civil rights committees on the local union level and to encourage local unions in strengthening present procedures which are designed to establish equality of opportunity for all members, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry."

IN a recession, when layoffs are widespread, discrimination takes on its toughest form and is the hardest to combat. The workers who are regarded as "different" only because of the color of their skin know well the old formula which prevails in times like these: "*the last hired and the first fired.*"

It is good and important news today that there are large and rapidly growing areas in industry where this formula no longer applies. These are the portions of industry where our unions have insisted on including a non-discrimination clause in their collective bargaining contracts with management.

Such a clause simply establishes the rule that in hiring, layoffs, promotions and all other terms and conditions of employment there is to be no discrimination because of the race, creed or color of workers covered by the union contract.

This non-discrimination rule is now law in a major portion of American industry—not law laid down by the government or the courts, but voluntarily promulgated by labor and management on *union initiative*.

The AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights, with the help of cooperating agencies, has recently begun a series of spot checks to determine the effectiveness of these non-discrimina-

tion clauses in union-negotiated contracts.

We know that in much of industry minority workers are still running the gamut of the old and, to them, ominous formula: "last hired and first fired."

Yet enough evidence is in to show that major portions of our industry, including much of our basic production, where union contracts with non-discrimination clauses are in effect, are islands where this formula no longer applies.

Thus, as we look at the record, we find that the one institution which has done most to wipe out discrimination from America's industrial scene has been the labor union. The one instrumentality which has proved the most effective in removing the bar to opportunity in employment has proved to be collective bargaining.

The non-discrimination clause alone does not accomplish the result we seek. Effective enforcement of the clause, vigilant administration of the grievance procedure and contract enforcement are a special responsibility of our unions today.

The time is now—when it will count most—for the labor movement to throw into its fight against discrimination the skill, the resources and the will to win of all its organizations and of their members.

This is one campaign we *must* win—not only to prove the worth of unionism as a voluntary institution and a mainstay of our industrial democracy, but also to assure the survival and future growth of industrial democracy itself.

Labor has already done more than any other group to lift the bar to employment opportunity in our land. It is up to us to keep open the high road to equal opportunity for every American.

*Have you contributed
your dollar to COPE?*

Retired Workers Enjoy Learning

By EUGENE C. ZACK

Public Relations Director,
AFL-CIO Community Service Activities

SERIOUS determination written across his face, a 75-year-old man bent over the prostrate form of a fellow "senior citizen" on the floor and applied the latest technique in artificial respiration.

Around him more than a score of other retired workers looked on intently, commented on the procedure and, finally, applauded his efforts.

A grandmother, 65 years young, deftly fashioned a sling for a broken arm. Another "senior citizen" applied a tourniquet. Still others discussed the proper procedure for treatment of shock.

All of it was part of a unique class in first aid, conducted under the joint auspices of the American National Red Cross and the Detroit Retired Workers Center of the United Auto Workers.

The first class of its kind to teach the Red Cross first aid program to retired workers, it had its origins in a plea which Leo Perlis, the national director of AFL-CIO's Community Service Activities, made to the recent Red Cross national conference in Washington.

Pointing to what he called "the paradox of automation," Mr. Perlis had told the Red Cross:

"The less time workers spend on their jobs, the more time social workers will spend on their jobs."

He had added:

"Now that labor has helped provide leisure and economic security for the nation's senior citizens, where is the organization big enough in scope and endowed with the proper amount of vision to meet the individual need of these citizens for useful and purposeful lives?"

"I can think of only one such organization that, with the minimum of retooling, can tackle the problem of keeping the retired citizen an active member of the community. That organization, of course, is the American Red Cross."

As part of a program to make retired workers partners in the useful

work of the Red Cross, the AFL-CIO's community services director had specifically suggested training for disaster service, first aid, home nursing and similar projects.

The work at the UAW's Detroit Retired Workers Center, conducted under the supervision of Mrs. Elaine Stinson, the center's coordinator, and under the overall direction of Miss Olga M. Madar, director of the UAW Recreation Department, has proved the soundness of the theory.

But sound as the theory was, it had to be made to work.

"We were confronted with several problems when we broached the question to the Red Cross," Mrs. Stinson recalls. "First of all, the ages of the interested group ranged from 67 to 87. Their educational backgrounds were varied and many of them would have some difficulty in reading the text of the Red Cross manual."

"Other considerations were the pace at which we thought the material should be covered in order not to discourage our people, some of whom we knew were experiencing hearing difficulties, and many of whom were

worried about how much they would remember of what they learned."

The class became a reality, and it included married couples, some widows and widowers, and even one bachelor. Some of these people were regular participants in the Auto Workers' day center program.

Others, like a 70-year-old woman of Czech extraction, came only when class was in session. Her husband was partially disabled, and she had never left home in the previous four years except to go to church on Sunday. The class provided her first outside interest since her husband was stricken. It gave her not only a useful activity but some much-needed social life as well.

The psychology used by Mrs. Stinson and her associates was particularly notable.

"We were eager that this class of older people be treated like adults," she says, "in spite of the special learning problems that might arise. We were fortunate in the two Red Cross women who shared the teaching during the nine-week session. They did not lower the standards for acquiring



Older people taking the Red Cross first aid course at the UAW's Retired Workers Center in Detroit proved to be admirable pupils.

the certificate, but paced the material to be covered in such a way that everyone was able to finish."

And finish they did—and strongly, too. Of the thirty men and women who enrolled originally in the course, twenty-five completed it—and satisfactorily enough to qualify for the Red Cross certificate.

"It was a genuine thrill for the people in the class to discover that, although most had not participated in any classes for many years, they did remember what they had learned," Mrs. Stinson reports. "Each person in the class participated in the use of slings for bone and body injuries and learned the present techniques for artificial respiration purposes. The

vigor with which some of the class approached a would-be patient will long be remembered."

There were anxieties about personal health and well-being that older people have which came in for considerable discussion during the sessions. The Red Cross instructor, along with the center staff, tried to handle them realistically without increasing their apprehensions unnecessarily.

"They had fears about sudden collapses and unexpected accidents," the UAW center's coordinator recalls. "Attention was given to these worries with a full appreciation of how to meet such situations."

Textbooks and equipment for the

nine two-hour sessions were supplied by the United Auto Workers with the understanding that any individual could purchase the book and keep it if he so desired. The interest was so genuine, as it turned out, that they all bought their own books before the course was over.

What did the Red Cross think of the program?

Well, there's no official comment as yet, but until that official word comes along, probably the remark made by the instructor at the close of the course will suffice:

"Believe me, I've learned more in working with this class of senior citizens than from all of my previous classes combined."

Ninety Years for Britain's TUC

By JOHN WALTON

THIS year Britain's Trades Union Congress is ninety years old. Its modest beginnings occurred at a meeting in the great cotton center of Manchester when thirty-four delegates representing about 118,000 trade unionists were present. The most important decision from the point of view of the history of the TUC was to hold another congress in the following year.

Several influences were responsible for bringing into being a national trade union center in Britain at that time. First of all, more and more individual trade unions had established themselves. Second, to a number of leading trade unionists there appeared to be a need for common action on a variety of issues, particularly in the discussions then taking place about the legal standing of the unions.

Another influence was the existence of trades councils, which in the big towns were linking together the activities of trade union branches and even trade unions where the membership was localized. Indeed, it was a trades council—that of Manchester and Salford—which was responsible for calling the first TUC meeting in 1868.

The items which this trades council suggested for the agenda showed that trade unionists were already anxious

to develop a responsible role in the community. Among them were arbitration and conciliation in industrial disputes, technical education and the legal standing of the unions.

Not all the leading trade unionists attended this congress; an important group of leaders in London known as the "Conference of the Amalgamated Trades" chose to stay away.

By 1871, however, when the third congress met in London, the link-up of the major trade union forces was complete. The decisive factor in bringing this about was the appointment of a royal commission by the government to look into the working of the unions.

Many well-known trade unionists gave evidence to this commission. Reports say that they made a good impression as witnesses by their sound, reasoned answers to questions and by their exposition of the functions of unions in providing benefits for sickness, injury, unemployment and death.

The proceedings and the findings of the commission and the subsequent parliamentary debates provided a major focus of trade union interest for a number of years. The Trades Union Congress itself formed a parliamentary committee to present its views to the government and to members of Parliament.

Eventually, by laws passed in 1871, 1875 and 1876, trade unions gained a more defined status. Their funds and property were safeguarded under the law just like those of other institutions. They could register under the Friendly Society Acts which was in effect a guarantee of their *bona fides*. In a strike they could put out pickets and the law expressly said that it was not wrong for men to do together what they had a right to do as individuals. Finally, a new Employers and Workmen Act made both sides to a contract equal before the law.

The developments owed much to the steadiness of the British union leaders of the day. Their aim was to make unions appear necessary and enlightened bodies not only to the membership and to workers who might become members but to the government and the public at large.

Much of the responsibility fell on Robert Applegarth, the carpenters' leader, William Allan, the engineer, Alex MacDonald, the miner, and George Odger, the shoemaker. Looking back, there is no doubt that in a very large part they succeeded in their task.

Though British trade unionism had many more trials to face, these men of long ago laid the foundations well, not only in their unions but also in the Trades Union Congress.

Our Merger Is Working

By MITCHELL SVIRIDOFF

President, Connecticut State Labor Council

MERGER is working in Connecticut. It is working the way we hoped it would—the way we were certain it would. We are setting up new tasks and new goals that could never have succeeded under divided organization.

We are bringing into the merged organization—the Connecticut State Labor Council, AFL-CIO—a substantial number of new affiliates. Perhaps it would be fairer to say that these affiliates are coming to us.

The interesting thing is that these unions affiliating since the merger have been on the scene for a long time. But during the years that the Connecticut State Industrial Union Council and the Connecticut Federation of Labor existed separately, these local unions, although friendly, stayed outside the fold.

This proves that organic unity is more than a philosophy. For many local unions it represents the only sensible trade union arrangement to which they want to subscribe. In my opinion, this will become the feeling of almost all unions, everywhere, as time goes on.

These unaffiliated unions knew that the State Federation of Labor and the State Industrial Union Council enjoyed harmonious relationships for many years and had worked together on policies and programs following an almost parallel course. But how could they know this cooperation would not break down? These unions wanted the McCoy—actual merger. They saw no good reason for division. With merger established, these unions are joining and becoming vigorous participants in our program.

In Connecticut we began merger negotiations only a few months after the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Negotiations



MITCHELL SVIRIDOFF

began in May of 1956. Thirteen months passed before the actual merger took place.

Why did it take so long, particularly since the CFL and CSIUC had worked harmoniously in so many fields of endeavor?

The answer is to be found in the structural differences between the CSIUC and the CFL. The constitutions of the two organizations varied greatly in terms of structure. There also was a difference in the per capita tax paid by affiliates of the CSIUC and CFL.

The CSIUC felt there was much to be said in favor of its constitutional provisions relating to structure, to per capita tax and other items. The CFL felt the same about its constitution. And neither side was wrong. Both constitutions had served their organizations well.

It was clear, however, that for a merged organization several sweeping compromises must be made or there would be no merger.

Our first step in negotiations for merger was to set up an agenda of about twenty items which would have to be resolved. Under these items were sub-items. When we tackled the agenda we first worked out agreement on problems presenting the least difficulty. By disposing of these minor differences we got ourselves uncluttered of all but a few of our agenda items.

Then we set to work on the relatively tough ones. We had many meetings. Sometimes the outlook appeared gloomy. But on neither side was there a letup of determination to push through to a mutually satisfactory solution—a new constitution for a new merged labor organization.

We were greatly helped by the national AFL-CIO, which was ready to advise on problems whenever the need for advice was felt. We were helped, too, by the regional office of the AFL-CIO.

What really carried us through to merger was the dedication of all concerned to succeed and a refusal to call it quits, even after long days and long nights of discussion over points that seemed unwilling to yield even to our strongest efforts.

IN Connecticut the membership strength of the CFL and CSIUC, on a per capita basis, was so close as to be considered equal for all practical purposes. It was decided, therefore, that in the best tradition of democracy, the number of top officers and vice-presidents, making up the executive board, be equally divided.

The result was my election as president, the election of Timothy J. Collins, president of the CFL, as executive vice-president, the election of Joseph M. Rourke, secretary-treasurer of the CFL, to the same position in the new organization, and the election of John J. Driscoll, secretary-treas-

urer of the CSIUC, to the post of executive secretary. Fifteen vice-presidents were elected from the ranks of the Connecticut Federation of Labor and the same number from the Connecticut State Industrial Union Council.

The problem of per capita tax was settled by a formula which, when considered in its essence, was nothing more than arithmetical common sense as best we could visualize it for the future.

The CSIUC's per capita tax had been six cents, the CFL's five cents. It was agreed that if per capita paying membership was below 185,000, the per capita would be six cents, but if the total monthly membership rose above the 185,000 mark and continued above this mark for two consecutive months, per capita tax would drop to five cents. On the other hand, if the total monthly membership fell below 175,000 for two successive months, the per capita would revert to six cents.

The per capita tax formula was designed to maintain economic stability.

Another factor in determining the per capita formula was our projected thinking regarding the budgetary needs of the merged organization. Taken into account was our resolve to work with even more energy, diligence and utilization of the tools of labor to raise our standards of achievement in the fields of community services, legislative and political activity, education and public relations, plus many more services for the good of labor and the whole community.

Both the State Federation of Labor and the State Industrial Union Council had been active in the fields I have specifically mentioned. However, this is a changing world, with the pace of change running at a faster and faster rate, so we know we must increase the impact of current programs and take on new projects.

What do we plan to do that will be new?

What are the program items to be added?

One step of immeasurable importance is the setting up of an Atomic Energy Committee. It will be the job of this committee, acting through the State Labor Council, to press for greatly expedited development of atomic energy for peaceful uses and

to acquire and disseminate knowledge on the hazards of radiation, as well as to modernize the Connecticut workmen's compensation law to provide coverage for ills brought on by exposure to radiation suffered in places of employment.

John Driscoll, Council executive secretary, has made extensive study of many phases of atomic energy, including power development and radiation hazards. He has drawn up a proposal for setting up an Atomic Energy Committee. His proposal sets forth what the objectives of the committee should be in terms of the duties it will be asked to undertake.

Joseph Rourke, CSLC secretary-treasurer, will be of tremendous value to the merged organization in all of its activities. He has acquaintanceship and friendship throughout the state with an almost unbelievably large number of people, both in and out of the labor movement.

Joe is one of those rare individuals who, although he has had to engage in many struggles with their inevitable strife, has consistently wound up making many more friends!

Brother Rourke is serving the Council as legislative agent on top of his duties as secretary-treasurer. He is ably assisted by attorney Margaret C. Driscoll, long-time legislative agent of the former CSIUC. Mrs. Driscoll is the merged organization's legislative counsel.

BEFORE merger, it was not uncommon for the CSIUC and CFL to differ on minor points of legislation. But no matter how minor were those differences, the enemies of organized labor exploited them to whatever extent they were exploitable.

Under merger there will be one legislative program; there can no longer be differences. Conventions of the merged organization will determine a broad legislative program. Between conventions, as events occur, the executive board will develop the detail.

In executive board meetings there will be differences of opinion, of course. We do not have, nor do we want, a rubber-stamp organization. But these differences will be ironed out in democratic fashion and policy decided.

In the field of education we are already busy on a program of vital importance to the state's school sys-

tem. There exists today a rather terrifying imbalance between the great quantities of study material available in the schools from big business sources and the meager amount of informative and educational material available from labor.

In our program to correct this situation, Ruth Warren Greenberg, director of education for the Council, who held the same position with the old State Federation of Labor, is in charge. She has the additional task of directing women's activities.

Norman Zolot is serving as the Council's legal counsel. He was formerly associated with the State Federation. Attorney Zolot has had long experience with labor laws and with laws in general. His competence is a real asset to the Council.

The Council publishes a monthly newspaper, *Connecticut Vanguard*. The contents of the newspaper will be expanded to meet the needs of the united organization and its affiliates. The Council's paper is edited by Harold Senior, our director of public relations and publications.

I started this piece by saying that merger in Connecticut is working. It definitely is. To me the gains accomplished in a short time have been truly inspiring.

I think it is well demonstrated that the program of the Connecticut State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, is a program of genuine, dedicated cooperation by Council officers, staff members and Council affiliates and their membership.

All of us are determined to set new records of accomplishment. It seems to me that it is no more than simple, easy prophecy to say that with all these assets working in our favor, the goals we have set will be achieved.

"DON'T FORGET THE UNION MEETING"



ORIT AT THE CROSSROADS

By SERAFINO ROMUALDI

Assistant Secretary, ORIT

THE Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) is going through a period of transition which will culminate in the selection of a new leadership at its next convention, scheduled for October, in Montevideo, Uruguay. This interlude will afford an opportunity to make a calm appraisal of ORIT's past policies and organizational structure with the view to adopting whatever changes experience will dictate.

Since its founding in Mexico City in January of 1951, ORIT has had two general secretaries—Francisco Aguirre of Cuba and Luis Alberto Monge of Costa Rica—and one acting secretary, Arturo Jauregui of Peru, who served for eleven months during Monge's leave of absence. Monge has now resigned his post, effective May 1, in order to return to Costa Rica where, in the last general election, he was elected a member of Congress.

Three months ago Arturo Jauregui, who served the organization as assistant secretary and director of organization and in many other capacities, so that he was known as a sort of "Jack of all trades," returned to his native Peru, which he had left in January, 1948, when he was appointed assistant secretary of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (CIT), which preceded ORIT.

Previously another Peruvian, Ricardo Temoche Benitez, who served for almost three years as director of workers' education, had left ORIT headquarters in order to return home. A similar step was taken by an ORIT organizer, Leopoldo Pita.

More staff people left ORIT's Mexico City headquarters when the Venezuelan dictatorship was overthrown, among them Pedro Perez Salinas, who was assistant to the director of education; Manuel Mendez, who had succeeded Temoche as director of education, and Augusto Malave Villalba, an ORIT-ICFTU organizer last stationed in Argentina.

When the ORIT Executive Board

met for the 1958 annual meeting in Washington, January 13-15, the impact of these abrupt changes was well understood; but rather than proceed hastily to the selection of new personnel, it was decided to appoint a subcommittee, to which were referred all the administrative sections of the agenda, such as the budget for 1958, and the filling of the vacant posts in the ORIT leadership.

The subcommittee was composed of President Tellechea, General Secretary Monge and committee members William F. Schnitzler and Paul Reed for North America and Fidel Velasquez and Luis Alberto Colotuzo for Latin America. Claude Jodoin of Canada, O. A. Knight of the United States, Justino Sanchez Madariaga of Mexico and Justiniano Espinosa of Colombia were named alternate members.

This subcommittee was also charged with developing, in cooperation with the parent organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a workable financial, educational and organizational program, to survey ORIT operations generally and to study the constitution and by-laws with a view to recommending possible changes. Its first meeting was held in Mexico City, February 14-16.

This Mexico City meeting of the subcommittee—which was also attended by Charles H. Millard, ICFTU director of organization—marks a turning point in the development and growth of ORIT. For three solid days, undisturbed by social events, the participants examined every phase of ORIT activities, the possibilities for future growth and the needs required to accomplish it.

Most important of all, the meeting laid the groundwork for a firm understanding with the headquarters of the parent organization—the ICFTU—for closer contact and coordination in conducting organizational activities in the whole territory under the jurisdiction of ORIT.

In order to understand the impor-

ance of this clarification between ORIT and ICFTU, one must consider the fact that the history and structure of ORIT, as a regional organization, are somewhat different from those of the other regional organizations of the ICFTU, especially the Asian and the African. In addition to being self-supporting, at least as far as personnel and basic organizational structure are concerned, ORIT predates, in fact, the organization of the ICFTU itself. The majority of its present members joined together in forming the CIT as early as January, 1948. This organization had, to all intent and purpose, the same scope as ORIT and it was voluntarily dissolved the day after ORIT was launched in January, 1951.

It was, therefore, somewhat inevitable that some misunderstanding with the ICFTU would arise from time to time. Now, however, that both Brussels and Mexico City, the respective headquarters of the two organizations, have had years of experience to draw upon, it has finally been possible to work out a formula by which operational and educational activities would be coordinated so that there would be no overlapping and, above all, no danger of making it appear that the two organizations were competing rather than being one in purpose and fact.

THE next ORIT congress, almost six months away, will not only elect a new general secretary and a new president (who cannot succeed himself, according to the constitution) but will also have the task of redefining the program of ORIT, especially in the light of the changing political and labor panorama in Latin America. It will have also to streamline, on the experience of the past eight years, the ORIT apparatus so as to devote a greater share of its own resources, and of the ICFTU contributions, to organizational and educational activities.

The downfall of the dictatorships which occurred during the past two

years in Latin America (Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Honduras, Colombia) has released ORIT from the pressing task, which was admirably discharged under the leadership of Luis Alberto Monge, of fighting the dictators in order to regain a degree of political freedom that would permit the labor movement to function freely.

A number of critics have described this aspect of ORIT activities—which nevertheless were always in line with the basic policy laid down by the ICFTU congresses—as being “too political.” Now, of course, although all the Latin American dictatorships have not disappeared, the need for such “political” emphasis of ORIT activities no longer exists. We can, therefore, safely assume that in the future greater emphasis will be given to the organizational and educational aspects of the ORIT program.

During this interim period between Monge's retirement and the date of the next ORIT convention, the administration of ORIT will be the responsibility of the three present assistant secretaries, in consultation with President Ignacio Gonzalez Tellechea.

The assistant secretaries are Jim Bury of Canada, Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga of Mexico and Serafino

Romualdi of the AFL-CIO. Although on a transitory basis, this is the first time in the history of ORIT that North Americans have assumed a large share of the responsibility in its administration.

In the past, the tendency has always been to leave the operation of ORIT as much as possible in the hands of Latin Americans. Although the AFL-CIO has always furnished one or two assistant secretaries, they never operated from ORIT headquarters. This policy was first changed when Jim Bury of Canada was appointed resident assistant secretary in February, 1957.

Now the new tendency, as a result of insistence on the part of the Latin Americans themselves, is to draw into ORIT, for organizational and educational work, as many North Americans as there are available and qualified.

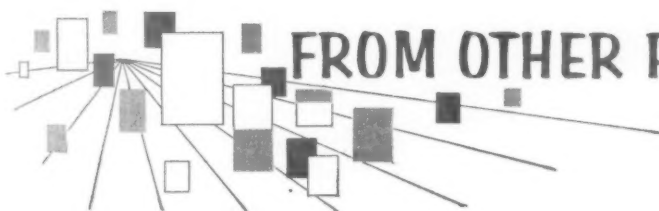
Thus, Daniel Benedict of the AFL-CIO's Department of International Affairs has been granted a leave of absence to take charge, as of May 1, of the ORIT Department of Education. At the same time David Sternback has also obtained leave of absence from the AFL-CIO in order to assume the post of ORIT-ICFTU

representative in Colombia. Another North American, Andrew McLellan, formerly adviser to the Texas State Federation of Labor on Mexican affairs, is now ORIT representative in Central America.

Closely connected with ORIT are the inter-American activities of the international trade secretariats. In a number of them the leadership of this work in the Western Hemisphere is effectively conducted by North Americans. For instance, Paul K. Reed of the Mine Workers Union (who is also a member of the ORIT Executive Board); William C. Doherty, Jr., representative of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, with headquarters in Mexico City; “Chip” Levinson of the Metal Workers International Federation, and Lloyd Haskins of the Oil Workers International Federation.

Similar activities are envisaged by the State and Public Service Employees, the Textile and Garment Workers International, and the Glass Blowers.

Particular mention needs also to be made of the work done by Elmer Cope and Nick Zonarich of the Steelworkers in helping the organization of the bauxite workers in the Caribbean area.



FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

A Tarnished Silver Lining

From AFL-CIO News

The Administration is misleading the American people in its efforts to put a silver lining in the dark clouds of the current recession. It contends that the March unemployment figures are “encouraging,” that they show a “slowing up of the decline.”

There's nothing encouraging about adding another 25,000 persons to the unemployment rolls in a month that normally produces a 200,000 drop in joblessness. There's not much slowing up in figures showing steel production at 48.6 per cent of capacity or automobile production off about 225,000 cars for March. There's no silver lining in an economic situation that finds 1,446,000 people out of work fifteen weeks or longer as of mid-March or nine states with insured unemployment exceeding 10 per cent.

The nation's economy is dangerously ill.

The remedy is strong, decisive action on an immediate tax cut for lower and middle income groups, an action that should originate with the Administration.

This will prove a more fruitful field than trying to tack silver lining into clouds that refuse to disappear.

Off Limits

From The International Chemical Worker

In his address before the last International Labor Press Association convention, AFL-CIO President George Meany deplored the solicitation of advertising by union publications. He declared that anything sponsored by a union should be of sufficient value to the members that they would be willing to pay for its costs out of union funds.

With this same idea in mind, the ILPA code of ethics includes a clause which states: “Member publications will not associate themselves in any manner with the

publication of any yearbook, directory or program that has for its primary purpose the solicitation of donations under the guise of selling advertising.”

The International Chemical Workers Union, through *The International Chemical Worker*, is bound by the code—although the particular provision quoted was unnecessary in the case of our union. This international has always forbidden its locals or regional organizations to raise funds by selling ads for programs, yearbooks, etc.

In this day and time especially, there is no excuse for using a device which can only foster ill-will for the cause of labor.

It Could Boomerang

From Detroit Building Tradesman

An unswerving campaign by recognized fronts for big business is aimed at the regulation of the affairs of organized labor by one form of government or another, local, state or national.

But a pathway has many twists and turns, and so does this drive against unions. It could backfire on business.

If big business wants restrictive legislation, why not present it with a dose of its own medicine?

Let's Be Fair to Our Older People

By JOHN FOGARTY

Congressman from Rhode Island

BY REASON of our antiquated practice of measuring human competence in terms of the number of birthdays a person has had, this country is depriving itself of the services of hundreds of thousands of mature people whose experience and skills are probably at a higher level than at any previous time in their lives.

Millions of others of the older people who built our nation are probably beyond the period of full-time gainful employment, yet are capable of making significant contributions to our economy and community life if we will but give them the opportunity. Instead, a majority of them are being shelved and ignored and being allowed to deteriorate for lack of restorative health services, useful activity and decent housing.

I cannot understand why it is, when we have extended the length of life and presumably the period of physical vigor and health, that the proportion of persons over 65 who are at work should continue to decline. Yet this is what has been happening over the past decade. I believe we should find out why.

Every day I receive heart-breaking letters which tell of the plight of our older citizens who find it impossible to stretch their incomes and pensions to meet the cost of living.

I know that Congress has made provision—through the old-age and survivors' insurance program, public assistance, railroad retirement, the civil service retirement system, pensions for military personnel and veterans—for retirement income for the majority of older persons no longer working. And I know that in many cases these incomes are being supplemented by pensions from former employers and by personal savings.

Despite these advances, study after study has shown that two-thirds of our older people are trying to scrape along on less than \$1000 a year. A recent nationwide study com-

pared the amount of income received by older persons with careful estimates of the cost of living. The conclusion reached by the University of California experts was that almost one-half of our older couples and about three-fourths of our older individuals did not have enough income to live at a minimum standard of health and decency.

Several months ago I participated in hearings which were held as part of a survey of Rhode Island's programs on aging. I was appalled to learn that many of the retired workers and widows in my own state do not have enough income to pay for maintenance and special assessments on their homes, for medical care or even, in some cases, for transportation to attend religious services and recreation centers.

Something like three-fifths of our older people are suffering from one and often two or more long-term illnesses. Many of these citizens are in desperate need of medical care. Poor health accounts for more than one-half of the retirements from work today.

At the same time there seems to be a rising opinion among medical people and gerontologists that much of the current disability and deterioration among older people is totally unnecessary.

It was recently reported to me that in one of our Midwestern states the mental hospitals are sheltering 5,000 older people who are there merely because their communities have neglected them. I am told some countries with an older population similar to ours have not built a single mental hospital since the end of the war and even have empty beds in their mental hospitals.

What is the explanation for this amazing contrast? Why are we asking for huge appropriations to build more mental hospitals for our older people?

Longer years of living will be nothing more than added years of misery

if they are to be spent in sickness and in progressive decline in a mental hospital.

Our older citizens want to be healthy and they want to remain in their own homes and communities. We cannot go on putting them out of sight in any convenient storage place.

MUCH of the progress we hope will be made in improving the health and other circumstances of older people depends upon further research. A good deal of research is being done—on medical problems and the aging process, on methods of rehabilitation, on the psychological and sociological factors in aging, on the characteristics of older workers and on other problems.

In 1952 we made an intensive study of the housing circumstances and needs among the older people of Rhode Island. One of the tragic conclusions reached by the study commission was that 33 per cent of our older people were without central heating in their homes and that 27 per cent were forced to live in housing grossly substandard in other respects.

More than one-fourth of Rhode Island's older population are living in homes that are dilapidated or without elemental sanitary facilities.

Among those who are trying to live on public assistance, the situation is almost twice as bad, for some 53 per cent of these were found in dilapidated housing or lacking the basic sanitary facilities.

Let me point out that we as a society are fostering this kind of living. Every time a public assistance grant is made to cover the rent of an older person living in a dilapidated or unsanitary dwelling we are subsidizing the continued existence of that dwelling.

The picture I have been describing is that of my own state, Rhode Island. I wish I could assure my colleagues in the House of Representatives that the older people in their own districts are living more comfortably. I can-

not do so. The figures that I have cited for my own state parallel very closely those reported by the Census Bureau for the country as a whole. Decent housing for our senior citizens is a nationwide need.

I have indicated the physical characteristics of the places our older people are forced to call their homes. I have said nothing about the tremendous loneliness and isolation of large proportions of our aged couples and particularly of the millions of older people who are widowed or who were never married.

During recent years there have been significant experiments in the development of both community and institutional housing for older people. No systematic studies have been undertaken, as far as I know, on the extent to which these various kinds of housing and living arrangements are meeting the needs of the older people who are living in them.

I consider it to be of first importance that the people who are having the experience with this housing should be brought together to share with others the knowledge they are gaining and to make recommendations for broad programs of action.

I have mentioned our wasteful policies regarding the utilization of middle-aged and older workers, and I believe this matter is of utmost importance. At the same time we must recognize that the majority of our older people will have to look elsewhere for their principal satisfactions of living.

Some 60 per cent, or about 4,000,000, of our older men and 90 per cent, or about 7,000,000, of our older women are not working and are not likely to work again unless it is in some form of part-time employment.

These 11,000,000 men and women and a good many more below the age of 65 represent the achievement of longer life. They are people whose lives have been extended beyond the period in which they made their principal contributions to society. It is they who helped build the country and to whom we owe a great deal.

The tragedy is that we have not found new ways in which they can be useful and enjoy the satisfactions of belonging and self-sufficiency. Our tendency has been to set them aside and to ignore them when we should have been providing new opportunities through which they could be useful. We have, in short, created long-

er life and more years in retirement without making them self-sufficient and meaningful years.

This represents to me the great tragedy of aging. Social isolation, lonesomeness and inactivity lead to physical and mental deterioration and dependency. Unless we do something about it, I am convinced that we shall have an enormous amount of physical and mental breakdown which will fill our hospitals and old-age homes to overflowing and a growing population of embittered older people.

THE most hopeful aspect of this situation is that older people themselves, for the most part, want to be active and useful. In a few places where evening schools and libraries are providing special programs for them, older people are taking advantage of them. Activity centers are being set up around the country and are doing a thriving business in education, arts and crafts, and recreation—all of which are keeping older people healthy and happy.

Here and there the older citizens have created work opportunities for themselves. Several cities report that older people have organized themselves and offered their services as voluntary contributions to their communities. These are all good signs, but we know too little about them and their spread is altogether too slow.

AFL-CIO Stand on Cuba

THE AFL-CIO is "reluctant to pass individual judgment" or to assume that it knows better than the Cuban Confederation of Workers how to protect the interests of the Cuban workers and their organizations, AFL-CIO President George Meany said in a statement last month on the situation in Cuba.

"This judgment," he added, "will eventually be passed by the Cuban workers themselves and, if necessary, by the ICFTU and ORIT."

Mr. Meany noted that the AFL-CIO has been urged "from many quarters" to take a stand contrary to the policy adopted by the CTC. The Cuban labor movement has declared itself opposed to the general strike weapon of the Fidel Castro forces seeking to overthrow the regime of General Fulgencio Batista.

The CTC, the president of the AFL-

There is a need for trained personnel to work in many different capacities with our older people. Old age is a special period of life, and there is general agreement that special training is required for those who are going to work with the aging and aged. This is true in the health services, in employment counseling, in adult education and recreation and in the administration of institutions which minister to the needs of the elderly.

The United States has about 25,000 homes for the aged and nursing homes. They are housing more than 500,000 older people. Yet, to the best of my knowledge, there is not one bonafide training program in the country through which the administrators of these homes can receive adequate preparation for their jobs.

It is eight years since the first Conference on Aging was held. Considerable experience has been gained in the interval. Many additional organizations and individuals have entered the field. I am certain there would be great value in providing them opportunity to come together, first in their own states and then in a national forum, to take stock of where we are and where we should be going.

The first conference on aging stimulated a good deal of activity. A new White House conference would stimulate more.

It cannot come too quickly.

CIO pointed out, "is an affiliate in good standing" of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its inter-American organization (ORIT).

Mr. Meany reaffirmed AFL-CIO "concurrence" with the resolution on Cuba adopted at the last meeting of the ORIT executive board in January, which pledged "strong and effective support to the people of all nations when their political and civil rights and liberties are suppressed or endangered."

This resolution reaffirmed ORIT's historic policy of "opposition to all forms of oppression and dictatorship" and expressed "sympathetic understanding of the problems" of the Cuban Confederation of Workers.

Elections in Cuba must be "freely conducted along democratic lines," the ORIT resolution emphasized.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

▶Thirty years ago Lodge 439 of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in Decatur, Ill., decided to establish a credit union. From an initial membership of fifteen and assets of \$26, the credit union has grown to a membership of 11,478, with assets of \$12,000,000. Serving Wabash Railroad employees, it is the largest railroad credit union in the nation.

▶The Canadian Labor Congress is urging its affiliated unions to press for higher wages, shorter hours and supplementary unemployment benefits as a means of fighting unemployment. Union members were asked to avoid taking on extra jobs at this time and unions were called on to discourage overtime.

▶Local 880 of the Retail Clerks, Cleveland, had a capacity turnout when a fashion show was scheduled as an after-meeting attraction. The master of ceremonies for the show was Bill Boehm, a well-known local personality.

▶Vice-President Thomas E. Boyle of the International Chemical Workers Union has been appointed to a six-year term on the New Jersey Mediation Board by Governor Robert Meyner. Mr. Boyle, whose home is in Newark, intends to continue with his ICWU duties.

▶Local 101 of the Transport Workers, Brooklyn, has scheduled regular monthly educational sessions for its members. The international union's education department worked with officers of the local in setting up the programs.

▶Roosevelt University, Chicago, has received \$5000 from the Sidney Hillman Foundation. The university has received more than \$40,000 for scholarships from the foundation in the last decade.

▶The sixty-second anniversary of the Minnesota *Union Advocate* occurred recently. The weekly newspaper is published at St. Paul. It was estab-



Retail Clerks are picketing Montgomery Ward. Company's feudal anti-unionism brought on the strike. Unions across the country are backing Clerks' fight.

lished by P. J. Geraghty, a member of the Typographical Union and an AFL organizer in the Twin Cities.

▶Thirty-six members of the United Steelworkers of America at the Lancaster, Pa., plant of the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation collected more than \$12,000 in back pay as the result of a case pushed by Local 5156 and District 11.

▶Lodge 149, Railway Clerks, Springfield, Mo., had a record turnout at a recent meeting. Attendance prizes and ice cream pie were credited with helping bring out the membership. A unanimous vote was cast to allocate a small entertainment budget for a social event every three months.

▶Four coat contracting shops near Los Angeles have recently been signed to agreements by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. About 160 workers are employed in the newly organized shops. The contracts provide wage increases and all benefits of the union's standard agreement.

▶Higher hourly wages have been won recently by the Textile Workers Union of America for the 200 employees of the Textile By-Products Corporation at Hudson, N. Y.

▶Local 41, Insurance Workers, held a dinner party at Meriden, Conn., to honor Frank Abel, a charter member, on the occasion of his retirement.

Heart Attack Fatal to Andrew Blanch

Andrew Blanch, superintendent of the AFL-CIO Building in Washington, died suddenly of a heart attack while visiting relatives in the nation's capital last month.

Mr. Blanch, 52, was a long-time member of the Plumbers. He belonged to Local 5 in Washington. During construction of labor's headquarters building he worked as a supervisor.

He had also served as a councilman in suburban Falls Church, Virginia, where he had his home.

Surviving are his widow, Mrs. Vernie B. Blanch; a daughter, Eleanor, who is employed by COPE; a brother, Frank Blanch of Arlington, Virginia; and two foster sisters, Mrs. George Meany of Bethesda, Maryland, and Mrs. Anna Fallon of New York.

Many AFL-CIO staff members attended the funeral services, which were held in St. James Catholic Church, Falls Church.

Burial was in Calvary Memorial Park, Fairfax, Virginia.

▶ Nearly 100,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union received Asian flu vaccinations under union auspices last year. The workers were given the shots at their shops, union halls, health centers and healthmobiles.

▶ Local 1245 of the Retail Clerks has won weekly pay increases of \$5 to \$8 and a reduction in the workweek of five hours in an agreement covering forty-eight Food Fair stores in New Jersey. The new contract affects 1,200 employees.

▶ Local 79 of the Painters, Denver, has negotiated a three-year contract calling for total hourly increases of 27½ cents. This year's boost was 10 cents. The employers were represented by the Denver Painting Contractors Association.

▶ The implications of automation and major technological change in collective bargaining were slated to be examined at an AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department conference in Washington.

▶ Local 69 of the Insurance Workers of America, Holyoke, Mass., has elected Lucien Gauthier as president. Mike Laduzinski, the former president, continues to serve the local as vice-president.

▶ Vivian Smith, president of Local 436, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, Birmingham, Ala., has been appointed director of women's activities for the united Alabama Labor Council.

▶ Marion Ingram has been installed as president of Local 563, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Hattiesburg, Miss. Otis Doggett, Mississippi representative of the international union, participated in the program.

▶ The Michigan State AFL-CIO has called on Congress to support a proposal which would permit the Tennessee Valley Authority to begin construction of needed generating plants.

▶ Local 953, Textile Workers Union of America, has gained wage increases for employees of the Noble Manufacturing Company, Cedartown, Ga.

▶ Local 225, Office Employees Inter-

national Union, has won salary increases, an additional paid holiday and an improved vacation clause for office workers in offices of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees at Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg and Moncton.

▶ A package worth 18½ cents an hour has been won by Local 282 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, New Haven, Conn., for 350 employees of seven stores of the First National supermarket chain.

▶ Agents employed by the Quaker City Life Insurance Company in Washington and Baltimore have won higher pay and other improvements in a new contract negotiated by the Insurance Agents International Union.

▶ Negotiations between Local 369, Utility Workers Union of America, and the Boston Edison Company have been concluded with a wage settlement of 5 per cent and an increase in the shift differentials.

▶ Donald Cameron, 73, a Carpenters Union international representative for thirty years, died in San Francisco after a long illness. He was widely known among unions representing workers in the shipbuilding and mining industries in the West.

▶ Local 401, United Furniture Workers, has won a 13-cent package wage increase at the Oxford Manufacturing Company, Oxford, Pa. The boost came after a one-day strike.

▶ A basketball team sponsored by Local 1200 of the Steelworkers, Canton, Ohio, won the city's industrial league title.

▶ Local 105, United Furniture Workers, has won a general wage increase and other advances in a new contract with Pratt Read and Company, Inc.

▶ After a strike, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers obtained a union contract at Vanco Shirts, Inc., in Fall River, Mass.



Lee Minton (right), president of the Glass Bottle Blowers and a vice-president of CARE, chats with Indian social worker. Mr. Minton went to India to attend a labor conference.

▶ A \$3.50 wage increase is the chief feature of the renewed agreement between Local 34, Office Employees International Union, and Bastian Brothers, Rochester, N. Y.

▶ The ninth class of the Training Institute of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is scheduled to start next month. Gus Tyler is the director.

▶ Local 2116 of the Steelworkers, New Boston, Ohio, sponsors teen-age dances at its meeting hall. Average attendance is 400 at these affairs.



William C. O'Neill, Plumbers' assistant general secretary-treasurer, hands check to Margaret Mitchell on her retirement after fifty years of service. She was union's chief of stenographic personnel.

Automation's Impact Has Us Worried

(Continued from Page 11)

supermarkets should be readily apparent.

In shoe stores, according to the National Association of Shoe Chain Stores, possibilities are seen of adapting electronic devices and automated equipment to retail shoe operations so that, the instant a sale is made, the price, size and exact description of the item sold will be recorded and produced on a punched tape with a complete record. This would lead to the elimination of the "size-up," the weekly inventory check at the store.

Such an innovation, it is estimated, would permit at least ten additional man-hours per store each week to be used in selling operations rather than in counting merchandise. The information could easily be adapted to use at the warehouse and provide information for future manufacturing operations.

The manufacturers of the equipment have developed a fully automatic, electronic, punched card transmitter that is capable of transmitting or receiving audible sounds at the rate of almost 1,000 alphabetical or numerical characters a minute and converting the sounds into standard punched cards. This makes it possible to transmit data electronically from store units to headquarters. It may soon be possible to drive into a gasoline station, have your tank filled automatically and the cost billed to your electronic credit card by machine.

It seems possible, through various sensory devices, to handle even papers electronically. A step in this direction by the U.S. Post Office is reported. It involves the sorting of envelopes by code-reading devices.

ONE company is developing a machine which requires merely the typing of a code on a sales check, a bill or a job ticket, and the paper is whisked to one of fifty-one appropriate bins in less than one-third of a second.

Other devices being experimented with include one which automatically selects from a stack bin any items called for by an operator who simply punches keys on a keyboard. One operator is thus able to do the work of ten stock boys.

Devices of this kind, used in conjunction with automatic code-reading conveyors, would bring about a complete revolution in the movement of merchandise into and out of retail stores and warehouses.

The more we look at some of these machines, the more of a job nightmare we seem to be facing.

The automation principles I have described for retailing are also applicable to warehousing. In one installation in a warehouse, there is an automatic system of sorting and distributing merchandise from a receiving platform to sixteen different stock rooms located on three different floors. Shipment can be effected by reversing the operation.

The control device records the destination of all the containers and keeps a complete inventory, adding and subtracting the merchandise as received and shipped. Nothing has to be moved, no records have to be kept other than what the automatic equipment does and provides in the way of information.

It is estimated that labor costs in warehousing can be reduced in this way by at least 50 per cent, together with a saving of 25 per cent in the cost of space, in addition to securing better control of inventory.

Fortune headlined an article not long ago with the phrase: "The Pushbutton Warehouse." The article noted that most warehouse operations have relied on primitive tools, but as production lines turn out goods faster than the warehouses are able to handle them, industrial engineers are coming up with new automatic devices that have been successfully applied to this problem.

The Hickok Manufacturing Company stores its belts, garters and suspenders in inclined chutes very much like candy in a vending machine, enabling one man at a keyboard to pick from stock all the items needed to fill orders. In three hours he is able to do the job that used to take three men an entire day.

The H. J. Heinz Company has put up a warehouse in Pittsburgh which can handle up to 6,000 cases in one continuous flow. A network of conveyor belts sorts the cases as they come from production, takes them to

stacking machines and piles them on double-decked wooden pallets.

Lever Brothers' warehouse at Hammond, Indiana, while incorporating the Heinz techniques, adds order assembling and shipping. Lever's Hammond plant turns out twenty different products, all leaving the production line in sealed cases which can be handled most easily on pallets. Photoelectric cells scan the passing cases of soap and powder items and sort them according to product, by counting the series of black streaks inked on the cardboard.

In New York City the Judy Bond Company uses a computer-controlled conveyor system to assemble orders totaling 6,000,000 blouses a year. Prior to the installation of this equipment, a back-log of several weeks would pile up and overtime would be required. The additional costs have now been eliminated.

In White Plains, New York, the Alexander department store moved to a new building at the end of 1956. An automated system to sort and distribute merchandise from the receiving platform to the sixteen stock rooms was installed. The system is actually an integrated stock selection method in which one dispatcher does the work formerly performed by a dozen stock clerks. It is said that the equipment for this installation cost about \$175,000 and replaces about \$25,000 a year of human labor.

The advantages of the Alexander system are said to be a speedup in the movement of trucks at the receiving platform, avoidance of congestion on the platform, elimination of the need for elevators or hoists and reduction of stock boy traffic.

The entire system is controlled by a pushbutton console with a built-in memory located at the receiving platform and operated by the receiving clerk. Merchandise from trucks is automatically distributed—packaged goods on conveyors, hanging goods on monorails.

The device takes control of the goods, transmitting instructions to the equipment, including deflectors and other mechanisms which take off

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the correct container or section of hanging goods at the predetermined stock room and hold it for later disposition.

The system is engineered to distribute cartons up to forty-eight inches long, twenty-eight inches wide and thirty-eight inches high and four-foot trolleys of hanging goods. It is even reversible so that goods may be returned from stock rooms to the shipping point. The belts and monorails are along the interior walls, so that they do not interfere with store operations. Regardless of the order in which the units are fed into the system, or the number of units on the conveyors at one time, each gets off at its proper destination.

It would be possible to develop a completely electronic check-out counter. Merchandise can be marked in a code which would be picked up by an electronic scanner. This would actuate electronic computers and other devices which would not only instantaneously record the shopper's total purchases but would also record sales information for inventory purposes.

If it is possible to have automatic toll-collecting machines on the turnpikes, then it seems completely possible for the engineers to devise a completely automatic retail store.

The housewife would be able to sit at home, place her order by electronic devices and be billed automatically.

WHAT happens to human labor when tasks become fully automatic? One engineering concern admits that it has not yet been able to eliminate people completely.

However, Allan Harvey, of the Dasol Corporation, was able to tell the American Management Association last June that his concern had already designed warehouse systems which cut the number of employees to substantially less than half.

"In a recent installation," he said, "a high degree of automation has cut direct labor from 1,600 hours per week to 700 hours per week."

And overtime, which had previously been a common thing, was wiped out completely.

The ultimate objective, according to the engineers, is to have an operation which will receive goods from manufacturers and then inspect, mark, allocate, pick, pack and deliver them to customers with as little stopping as possible. Direct labor costs,

it is estimated, can be reduced by 48 to 72 per cent, depending on volume.

The system brings the work to the few workers who remain and takes it from them again in a never-ending, continuous flow.

The Dasol Corporation speaks of one automatic warehousing installation in which it slashed expenditures for labor from \$414,000 a year to \$161,000.

An interesting question to ask of the engineers is: How is all that purchasing power to be replaced?

Of course, there are other savings also. Space is saved so that rent is reduced. There are lower supervision costs, delays are eliminated, handling is speeded up. But while management is working out integrated inventory, shipping and sales methods and coordinating all of these processes with production, it is overlooking the simple human problems involved.

Perhaps it is true that the wave of the future is to incorporate into material-handling and retail operations all the technique of data-processing and programming so that all phases of business are linked—production, material handling and selling.

Yet it is also true that the immediate problem of job displacement is a responsibility that we cannot ignore.

The Retail Clerks International Association is concerned with the impact that automation has had and will continue to have in our industry.

It is true that the trend toward automatic processes may not cause immediate major upheaval, but certainly there are specific areas and specific problems that are arising with which we must be concerned.

Labor displacement can cause considerable dislocations in community life. These can be dealt with only if we exercise some foresight. Yet, regrettably, in our area there seems to be less exercise of this insofar as the labor force is concerned than there is in other areas.

Are we not faced with a paradox?

Automation increases investment in capital costs and decreases investment in direct labor, yet an automated economy can work well only if the economic system is relatively stable.

Rapidly changing economic conditions are very upsetting. They place an unbearable burden on companies, particularly in times of reduced sales.

Virtually all authorities are agreed

that automation requires a high level of prosperity. Yet if jobs are destroyed, how long can prosperity last?

The Retail Clerks find it difficult to accept the somewhat complacent view that, with increased technology, we need not be concerned with job loss, for new jobs will eventually be created. This is an easy answer that solves few problems.

In making retailing and distribution more automatic, the objective is to reduce the number of manual operations permanently, and thereby reduce the labor force involved in this industry.

There is need for a good deal more study of this problem. We simply cannot assume that displaced people will be in a position to find other types of work, particularly when job opportunities in their industry, after twenty or thirty years of service, have contracted.

MOREOVER, we can hardly expect industry, whether at the retailing or manufacturing end, to reverse the tendency toward increasing the amount of capital per worker employed. Actually, it becomes technically impossible in many fields to revert to methods using less capital, so that we cannot merely assume that the economy would automatically reabsorb all technologically displaced workers.

The process is a difficult one. Very often it is accompanied by considerable hardship on the part of those people who are trying to find a new place for themselves.

I don't mean to suggest that American industry faces the specter of becoming completely robot and completely automatic. Only between 30 to 50 per cent of manufacturing industry can use automation in some form or other. Industries such as gasoline manufacture or electrical supplies have a high degree of automation, whereas house building has a very low degree.

Automation may not play much part in agriculture, forestry or professional and other services, but it will have a not inconsiderable part to play in the distribution fields, in warehousing and retail stores.

Automation increases productivity in retailing, just as it does in a Detroit automobile plant. This certainly suggests that one possible approach

would be a more effective sharing of the fruits of automation.

I raise the question whether such steps as shorter hours and an improved wage level for the employees, as well as passing on savings to consumers, might not be just the kinds of counterweights we need to balance the less desirable effects of recent automation in the distributive trades.

Aid and Trade ... In Trouble

(Continued from Page 15)

to retain foreign markets for billions of dollars worth of products from our factories and farms.

We cannot afford ever to forget this very simple fact of economic life: *international trade must be a two-way street.* People all over the world want from us a wide variety of foods and goods. But they cannot buy from us unless they are able to sell to us. How else will they get the dollars?

Because we mistakenly thought years ago that foreign imports were causing our domestic economic difficulties, we set up terrifically high tariff barriers. In 1934 we realized how wrong we had been and have been working to undo the damage ever since. But progress has been slow and uncertain—with backward steps being taken every now and then.

THE danger of new backward steps in 1958 is very serious. The current economic recession is being used as an excuse to cripple the program. With more than five million Americans out of work, the protectionists are declaiming that "this is certainly no time to increase imports and put still more people out of work," etc.

This is dangerous nonsense. If we want to worsen the recession, we should scuttle the reciprocal trade program and raise tariffs again.

What the protectionists forget is that there are 4,500,000 American workers whose jobs depend upon international trade. These are the men and women who manufacture the automobiles, machine tools and thousands of other American products that are sold all over the globe, the million farm workers who grow the foods we send abroad, the Americans who transport and distribute goods

Perhaps what we ought to consider is whether the rate of adoption of automated equipment ought not to take into account its social costs.

If firms were required not only to provide for the cost of new equipment but also to help displaced workers adjust to the new situation, either through compensation pay or through retraining, then might not the rate of

in international traffic, and the almost million workers who process materials which we import from abroad.

Shall we be indifferent to the job security of these 4,500,000 American workers?

The fact is that in 1934 the reciprocal trade program was adopted as an *anti-depression* measure. And it did serve to find more customers for our surplus farm and industrial production. And in every recession since then, foreign purchases of American goods held up better than did domestic demand. It is true today.

Of course, we do have a serious recession. Appropriate action must be taken. But cutting trade is *not* the thing to do. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates are vigorously pushing a real anti-recession program, including improved unemployment compensation, tax reductions, public works, school construction, extension of minimum wages and similar measures.

Moreover—recession or not—the AFL-CIO has been advocating an addition to the reciprocal trade program which is aimed at helping workers who may in fact be hurt by any reduction in tariffs and increase in imports.

Based upon a recommendation of President David McDonald of the Steelworkers when he served on the Randall Commission in 1954, a trade adjustment program has been developed which is aimed at providing some direct assistance to workers, industries and communities that can demonstrate their difficulties are in fact the result of foreign imports.

This can and does happen occasionally, and it is unfair to expect a small segment of our economy to pay the price of a national trade policy. AFL-CIO economists have estimated that a trade adjustment program

adoption be at a pace that the economy can absorb without any serious maladjustments?

I don't know that this would seriously slow up the rate of technological change, but if there are benefits to be derived from automation, let us not forget that there are also serious social-economic costs involved.

Attention must be paid to them.

would cost no more than \$2,000,000 a year.

The recession argument is also being used against the mutual security program.

"At a time when our own people are suffering," the argument is offered, "why spend billions to help other people?"

This argument is usually made by people whose record in support of social welfare measures is not very good. Here again it is conveniently forgotten by these propagandists that our mutual security program provides jobs to more than 600,000 Americans because about eighty cents of every dollar in the program is spent for American goods.

A cut in mutual security appropriations at this time, in addition to inviting serious risks in our international objectives, would only aggravate our economic difficulties at home.

Within the next two months Congress will complete action on these two vital programs. Opponents are active. The protectionist lobby is well-organized and well-financed. The isolationist crowd never lets up.

It isn't enough that the President, the leaders of both parties and most national leaders in every walk of life support both the mutual security program and the reciprocal trade program. Especially in this election year, Congressmen are interested in what they think their constituents wish. AFL-CIO members must not let the "anti's" do all the talking and writing.

Economic self-interest and international obligations both combine to make the case for a liberal foreign economic policy today stronger than ever.

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Women at Work

Condensed from *International Labor Review*

MUCH has happened during the present century to change the scope and character of women's employment and the nature of the problems facing women as workers.

Even within the comparatively short span of life of the International Labor Organization, emphasis has shifted from the physical and moral protection of the "weaker sex" to a more positive definition of women's role in economic and social life.

A study by the National Manpower Council in the U.S. illustrates the evolution of women's employment in modern industrial society.

The salient features of this evolution in the U.S. have been the growth in the number of women at work, the increasing diversity of their employment and the shift from unskilled and semi-skilled manual work to clerical and sales employment.

In 1900 if a woman took paid employment at all, it was before she was married. Today over half the working women are married and almost half are over 40. Some 30 per cent of the married women are in the labor force.

More and more women are remaining in the labor force for most of their adult lives, with longer or shorter periods of withdrawal for motherhood; and for the first time in the country's history there is a substantial group of women for whom paid employment constitutes far more than an experience in youth or a necessity imposed by misfortune.

Most American women are employed in occupations with a predominance of women; nearly half are in occupations where at least three-fourths of the workers are women.

In 1950 almost three-fourths of the women workers were in twenty occupations, and over half of them were in eight only.

In the course of its study the National Manpower Council held seven conferences in different parts of the country to gather from employers a first-hand account of their policies with regard to female personnel.

The reasons given by employers

for hiring or refusing to hire women fell into three broad categories.

The first relates to the influence of traditional attitudes, both at the management level and among the workers, according to which the universe of jobs is divided into "men's" and "women's" jobs.

The characterization of jobs as "men's" or "women's" overrides considerations of the skills required for them and the qualifications of individuals applying for them.

The second category of reasons offered by employers for not hiring women relates to the characteristics of women workers. Women were frequently described as more lacking in interest and initiative than men, as having substantially higher rates of absenteeism and turnover, and as less committed to paid employment.

It was suggested, however, that employers tend to exaggerate the alleged failings of women workers and put up with those of men because they are accustomed to them.

THE third broad category of reasons advanced by employers as affecting their hiring policies was comparative labor costs.

Employers rarely asserted that women were preferred for some jobs because they could be hired at lower rates of pay than men.

When employers were asked why they were now employing more women than formerly and why they were employing them in many jobs previously closed to them, they cited, among other things, the shortage of male workers, particularly during the Second World War. The development of a wider range of skills among women and the expansion of job opportunities also had a cumulative effect in changing management attitudes and affecting women's reaction to and preparation for work.

Some employers considered that many companies were adopting more positive policies consciously designed to expand women's employment opportunities. Others challenged this and expressed the view that the expansion of opportunity was only a

necessary accommodation to labor shortage rather than a fundamental change in management attitude and policy.

It was the opinion of many employers that industry and business are still a long way from thinking of ability to perform as the sole criterion and that jobs at all levels are still usually designated as belonging either to men or to women.

Experience has shown that there are few jobs in modern industry which women cannot perform because of limitations of strength and that there are few, if any, jobs which they cannot perform because of unyielding social attitudes. It has also shown that women can combine marriage and work and that many find this pattern of life to their taste.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that analysis of the choice of school subjects and occupational preferences of girls showed that marriage is a central concern among secondary school girls, affecting their choice of subjects, and that their occupational leanings reflect the existing social attitudes and distribution of women in employment. Guidance and counseling services reinforce rather than alter this pattern.

Two themes recur in United States experience—the striking increase in women's opportunities to participate in paid employment and the extent to which women's response to these opportunities has been conditioned by their essential concern with their functions as wives and mothers.

Both men and women have some liberty to decide for themselves what effort they will devote to work and to what extent their jobs will rule their lives rather than the reverse; but few men are free to choose between working and not working before they reach retirement age.

This distinction is at the root of the fundamental differences between the employment patterns of men and women. But it is highly significant that by far the most striking changes in women's employment in this century have occurred among married women with children.

WHAT THEY SAY

Andrew J. Biemiller, director, AFL-CIO Department of Legislation



—America can't turn its back on the aspirations for a better life of the people in the underdeveloped countries and still maintain leadership of the forces of free-

dom. We strengthen the chance that democracy and justice will win over tyranny by helping to make possible sound economic growth in places where for countless centuries the people have known only hunger, disease, poverty and stagnation.

The AFL-CIO urges that Congress extend the mutual security program with sufficient funds, authority and scope to assure a long-term, continuing, effective foreign aid program as an essential part of the nation's total foreign policy.

George Rhodes, Congressman from Pennsylvania—Labor's enemies are



not so much interested in doing away with misconduct and racketeering as they are in undermining those unions which fight for liberal legislation, social re-

form and a better livelihood for working people. The labor movement is in the forefront of the fight for progress and economic abundance. It is a dynamic, growing institution. It must be both aggressive and progressive if it is to carry out its legitimate objectives and survive the test of time.

An effective labor movement must have the political and economic climate in which to grow. Labor is in politics today because it must be. This does not mean that labor must sacrifice its trade union objectives and become an adjunct of any political part or a pawn in some intricate political chess game.

It simply means that labor unions

and their membership must take an increased interest in political affairs of their own community, state and nation.

It means active participation in the affairs of government, in the nomination and election of public officials who understand the labor movement, its program and objectives. It requires an ever-increasing awareness among labor union members of the inter-relationships between economic policies and political action.

John Sherman Cooper, Senator from Kentucky—It is now recog-



nized, if belatedly, that the long-range security of the United States, as well as the economic position, will depend upon educated men and women. The

problem of education is immense. And we must face the fact that the problem cannot be met without federal aid. Classroom shortages are not new. We all know that the shortage has not blossomed full-bloom overnight. We have known for a long time that not enough schools were built during World War II and the Korean War because of shortages of both manpower and materials during those emergencies. But we have done little about it.

According to the Office of Education, we need 140,400 classrooms. Almost half of these classrooms—63,200, to be exact—are needed to take care of the overflow or excess of students in relation to present space capacity and 77,200 classrooms are needed to replace classrooms no longer fit for children to use.

The nation's need for a continually improving educational program is not limited to the need for better facilities. We must also find ways of getting and retaining more qualified teachers, of encouraging the education of the gifted, of raising the quality of education. This is a program which will adequately prepare the nation's children for the broader horizons which

stretch even into the limitless beyond of outer space.

If there was ever a time for the nation to take stock of its materials for the future, the time is now.

A. J. Hayes, president, International Association of Machinists—The labor



movement is a useful and permanent part of our social and economic system. Any intelligent reader of history or anyone who personally remembers those

oft-called "good old days"—when men and women and little children worked sixteen hours a day and when a dollar a day was the prevailing wage—does not have to be told what unions have done for American workers or what the labor movement means in the American economy.

The labor movement's roots run deep in our way of life. Its members are nothing more than workers who have banded together in search of human dignity and a better life for themselves and their children. They are workers who found—like their fathers before them—that only through trade unions can they win dignity for their labor, respect for their skills and justice on their job.

Clinton S. Golden, former vice-president, United Steelworkers of America—In the



heat of the earlier struggle to become established and gain recognition, it was perfectly natural that the unions would assume those who were

not aligned with them in this effort were against them. If this attitude ever had any validity, it no longer exists. The unions have become well established and they have gained recognition and a very large measure of institutional security.

It is more important now perhaps than ever in the past that the unions be able to devise methods and programs designed to stimulate and make possible ever wider and more responsible participation by the members in their own union affairs.